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MONEY AS A CULTURAL SYSTEM:
A COMMUNITY STUDY OF DOUBLE BAY

BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the continuous interaction between culture and structure; between individual wills, community and society. Utilizing Double Bay as a community representing the upper strata of society, the study traces the historical events which led to the transformation of Double Bay from a working class suburb to its current status as an exclusive cosmopolitan enclave. Money, tradition and ideology are identified as the stabilizing mechanisms for the organization of life within Double Bay. The symbolisms provided by money and tradition unify an ethnically differentiated community and provide a basis for solidarity.

The constitution of tradition is negotiated by money as a medium of communication and exchange. The orientation of individuals and groups within the community for upward mobility coupled with a realistic appraisal of their place in the power structure of society enable their leaders to retain decisions concerning the suburb within its boundaries. The social constitution of reality is constantly negotiated within the community between

separate circles of people who retain enduring cultural vestiges of disparate pasts. Assimilation within the dominant culture is a conscious process selected by individual wills acting collectively rather than a structural constraint imposed from above. Consensus is obtained through community consultation and communication which provide the basis for the formation and selection of future institutions.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In primitive societies, a tribe's material existence was attuned to nature. Primitive beings organized their lives according to the seasons and to the productivity of the land. Their cultural lives were preoccupied with understanding the message of the wind, the sky, the earth, the water and all the living creatures which surrounded them. Their inability to control nature compelled them to explain the uncertainty of human existence with myths. Their desire to influence the forces of nature enabled them to invent magic. Human existence then, as now, was not simple. In every developmental stage, the ability of human beings to control and transcend their environment is limited by the amount of knowledge they possess and their ability to use this knowledge. If we now view primitive life as simple, it is only because we forget that in the absence of lighters, building a fire was a monumental task.

When one looks at developmental stages at the macro level, one thinks of human beings adapting to their environment. When one looks at individuals acting, one sees that adaptation is the result of the imposition of individual wills on their surroundings. Human beings transcend rather than adapt to their environment and those

who possess the appropriate knowledge for the appropriate task at hand can more easily impose their will. In a hunting economy, the one who kills the most game is leader of the band. In an agricultural economy, the person who yields the most crops wields the most power. In the money economy, power rests with those who control the illusion that money represents a prized object.

In highly urbanized societies, communities do not exist in isolation. A community's development is affected by powerful external influences which dilute established patterns of relationships in a given locality. The ability of a community to control and direct external influences is dependent on the relative importance of the community and its members vis-a-vis the larger society as well as their ability to act in concert in establishing the community's priorities.

This thesis attempts to study the Sydney suburb of Double Bay as both an object of interest on its own and as a means of analyzing some theoretical issues in the concept of community. The study revolves around the role of history, tradition, ideology and economic interests as stabilizing mechanisms for the organization of life within a community and the ability of a highly differentiated community to orient itself to common symbolisms which provide the basis for solidarity.

A. Literature Review: The Concept of Community

In the history of knowledge, certain ideas take hold of the imagination of whole generations of people to the extent that they inhibit the development of parallel thoughts. These ideas generally grow out of the need of people to answer certain fundamental questions and because they answer these questions adopted by many to solve all problems. Eventually, a group of scholars analyses these ideas, study their applicability and ferret out those facets which survive its application.[1] In sociology, the concept of 'community' was endowed with a nostalgic imagery of an idyllic existence from Tocqueville, Comte, Tonnies, Le Play, Marx and Durkheim. The term embodied an ideal-type which was a synthesis of everything that ought to be but was not. The community was depicted as the natural habitat of man and the changes which were taking place in the nineteenth century were viewed by Comte as a breakdown of the traditional way of life. Durkheim feared that the loss of community would result in anomie and that this normlessness could only be prevented by society's ability to create unity out of diversity. Durkheim optimistically concluded that society was developing into one big community.[2]

Ferdinand Tönnies provided a theoretical foundation for the study of communities by articulating a

typology in which community could be distinguished from society. In creating his typology, Tonnies perpetuated the nineteenth century emphasis on territoriality and tradition. A community's culture is homogeneous with deeply internalized norms and codes of behaviour. The family and the church are firmly established as the custodians of morality. Mobility is limited and individuals are judged according to their designated place in the community rather than by what they have accomplished. Conflict is avoided because roles are fixed. Central to Tönnies' concept of community is kinship, neighbourhood and friendship. On the other hand, society is impersonal and characterized by contractual relationships of means and ends. In creating his typology, Tonnies conferred a causal relationship between the loss of community and the rise of capitalism.[3] For in places where the characteristics of 'Gesellschaft' predominate, "only the upper strata, the rich and the cultured, are really active and alive. They set up the standards to which the lower strata have to conform."[4]

On the other hand, Marx views the loss of community as a consequence of capitalism.[5] In spite of the degradations of feudal societies, Marx felt that it had a better sense of community than capitalist society. Community is illusory in capitalist societies as they do

not meet the needs of human beings for cooperation and solidarity. Inasmuch as Marx realized that the 'little communities' were instrumental in the preservation of the status quo and therefore of the privileges of the ruling class, his idealization of the concept made him long for the perfect community of the future where both individualism and communism would co-exist in harmony.[6]

Marx's treatment of the loss of community as a consequence of capitalism, elevates capitalism to a liberating force which de-stabilizes the power of the old ruling classes and assigns to individuals the power of achievement. The idealization of the term clearly leads to difficulties in establishing its meaning in that different thinkers of different persuasions are in agreement over its desirability even if such agreement leads to contradictions in their own theoretical positions. As Robert Wolff puts it: "the conservative locates community in a cherished past and the radical in the longed for future."[7]

Robert Redfield extended Tönnies' concept of community and society into the rural-urban continuum. The 'folk' society, which is an ideal type, is placed at one end of the continuum with the urban at the other end. The village or the community is located within the continuum at a point close to the folk society.[8]

Following the nineteenth century tradition, his folk society is a romantic version of the simple life which exists in a

> ... small, isolated, non-literate and homogeneous [society] with a strong sense of solidarity. ... Behaviour is traditional, spontaneous, unoritical and personal: there is no legislation or habit of experiment and reflection for intellectual ends. Kinship, its relations and institutions, are the type categories of experience and the familial group is the unit of action. ... The economy is one of status rather than the market. (9)

The rural-urban continuum is a theory of social change which creates a vision of an idyllic existence shattered by the impact of civilization. Inherent to this perspective of community is the assumption that tradition and modernity are mutually exclusive. By locating tradition and modernity at both extremes of a continuum, this perspective measures change as a progression from one to the other and imbues it with normative implications. Chronology becomes an instrument for value-judgement and exclusion which shape human consciousness and the subsequent progression of events.

Hillery attempted to define 'community' by reviewing the literature in an effort to establish areas of agreement. The result was an abstraction of sixteen concepts out of ninety-four definitions. The preponderance of a rural association with community clearly perpetuates the nineteenth century anti-urban

orientation with its emphasis on area, common ties and social interaction.[10] From the areas of common agreement, Hillery extended Redfield's rural-urban continuum with a typology consisting of three social systems. Hillery identifies the folk village as the community. He uses Louis Wirth's definition of the city as "a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals" and Erving Goffman's total institution as a "social system that not only tended to regulate the total lives of the inmates but ... also set barriers to social interaction from the outside."[11] Hillery retains Redfield's concept of the folk-urban process of social change but dispenses with the nineteenth century nostalgia for folk societies by moving towards a theory of communal organizations.

These characterizations of community have focused on both locality and family. For Talcott Parsons, the territorial location is crucial. However, the population is just as important. Therefore, a community is "... that aspect of the structure of social systems [which refers to and can be observed in] the territorial location of persons and their activities."[12] This emphasis on location and the evolutionary principles of Darwin, Malthus and Spencer has spawned the ecological approach which stresses the organic continuity of localities and

their ability to influence the lives and social organization of the inhabitants of specific locales.[13] The ecologists viewed the locality as an organism which had a life of its own and persisted even after the individuals comprising the area have moved on.[14] The ecological approach may be viewed as a cross-sectional method of analysis which looks into the relationship between population aggregates and physical structure and focuses on the influence of the physical environment on its inhabitants. It is reminiscent of the Durkheimian theme of creating unity out of diversity in that the mosaic of 'natural areas' which constitute diverse groups of people interact with each other in a harmonious whole.

The romantic imagery of community as a tranquil pastoral idyll has led other sociologists to maintain that the concept of community is merely an illusion. In Whose City?, Ray Pahl examines the relationship between the villagers and the 'spiralists' in Dormersdell and concludes that the interaction between them was minimal. While the villagers lived in the locality because they were born there, the 'spiralists' settled in the area because their careers brought them there and having got there, decided to recreate a village in the mind. The social skills of the wives of the 'spiralists' enabled them to build a network of relationships among themselves

and to control the social institutions of the village. On the other hand, the villagers' limited educational experience prevented them from having the social confidence of relating to people outside their own class level.[15] Pahl's view of the community as reflecting the social inequalities of the wider society is located within a reformist perspective which negates the study of community as a proper object for sociology.

Raymond Plant suggests that a definition of community should have a core meaning and takes David Clark's condition of solidarity and significance as a purely descriptive and non-ideological account of the conflicting concepts of community.[16] However, he asserts that it is difficult to use the term 'community' in either politics or social policy in a strictly empirical manner[17] since individual perceptions about the type of institutional structures which incorporate a sense of solidarity and significance involve deeply rooted premises regarding the abilities of individuals and the possibilities intrinsic to human existence.[18]

For both the Marxist and the conservative, the current representations of community is distressing.

> The Marxist sees community in capitalist society as being used primarily to describe specific localities marked by neighborliness and kinship, its particularity and exclusivity standing in stark contrast to the universality of class consciousness,

> without which there can be no transformation of society and no community of humankind. The conservative sees the social structure and the attendant modes of consciousness and ethical conviction intrinsic to his vision of community have fallen away and the various natural necessities that appeared to make his vision both viable and compelling are losing their force. (19)

The liberal social-democrats, with their emphasis on individualism, view solidarity as something which arises from a conjuncture of self-interests and tend to view community in terms of partial communities like occupational or interests groups.[20] Inasmuch as a "community can only exist when people have certain intentions toward one another, have certain perceptions of each other, and value each other in certain ways"[21] and because "our conceptions of human nature and community cannot be separated...", it is necessary to accumulate both concrete detail and a historical sense of the social expressions of the human mind in order to obtain a better understanding of community.[22]

Between romanticism, materialism and structuralism lies a whole range of perspectives within which the concept of community can be located. A. P. Cohen approaches the study of community as both a cultural process and product. He believes "culture is created and continually recreated by people through their social interaction, rather than imposed upon them as a

Durkheimian body of social fact or as a Marxist superstructure. [Since culture is] continuously in process, [it] has neither deterministic power nor objectively identifiable referents. ... It is manifest, rather, in the capacity with which it endows people to perceive meaning in, or to attach meaning to social behaviour."[23] A community is where individuals acquire culture and learn the symbols with which to make sense of "things ... with respect to specific and significant interests and ... [to] think that the sense [they make] may differ from one made elsewhere. ... People's experience and understanding of their community thus resides in their orientation to its symbolism"[24] which serve as the boundary which separates the members of the community from those outside it.[25] Therefore, "the reality and efficacy of the community's boundary and ... of the community itself depends upon its symbolic construction and embellishment."[26]

Since the community's boundaries are symbolic, they not only define the limits of the community but also mean different things to different people both inside and outside the boundary. It also means that the limits defined by one person may not be perceived by another.[27] The symbolic construction of community becomes more meaningful when related to Simmel's concept of social

distance and intersecting social circles. Simmel relates individual freedom to a person's ability to belong to a large number of social circles. While some of these circles would intersect, individual freedom is more pronounced when one belongs to completely differentiated groups.[28] Thus, an individual can have as many selves as he has social circles and may elect to show different aspects of his personality to different social groups. A person's functional relationships may be separated from his personal relationships thereby setting limits to different levels and types of interaction. By viewing communities through its symbolic construction, it is possible to reconcile Marx's conception of the truly human community of the future to its representations in both capitalistic and socialistic communities of the present.

In the symbolic construction of community, "individuality and commonality are reconcilable".[29] Community is an 'aggregating device' rather than an 'integrating mechanism'.[30]

> Just as the common form of the symbol aggregates the various meanings assigned to it, so the symbolic repertoire of a community aggregates the individualities and other differences found within the community and provides the means for their expression, interpretation and containment. It provides the range within which individuality is recognizable. It continuously transforms the reality of difference into the appearance of similarity. (31)

A cultural interpretation of community allows for different cultural symbols and meanings to co-exist in a continuously progressive form. Therefore, "... whether or not the structural boundaries remain intact, the reality of community lies in its members' perception of the vitality of its culture. People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity."[32]

The symbolic interpretation of community takes into account the conflicting ideological positions within a community as part of the nature of a community. It makes no judgement about the morality of these ideologies. Ideologies are part of the symbols which define the boundaries of the community. However, it makes a distinction between the ideologies which exist within the community and the ideology of the social scientist studying the community. While the former is part of the object being studied, the latter defines the limitations of the method of study. The social scientist must therefore be able to separate his ideological position from the object being studied.

This leads us to reaching an understanding of the community not just as a sample but as an object. As a sample, the community serves as the unit of observation for studying a host of phenomena, relationships, structure

and culture. The primary concern is not with the characteristic of the community itself but with its usefulness as a laboratory for the wider problem being investigated. As an object, we are interested in finding the representations of the concepts, the functions and the changes in the functions of the various types observable, its cohesiveness and viability. However, in practice, the community as object is difficult to separate from the community as sample.[33] For as long as our understanding of human nature is intertwined with human environment and culture, the choice of a community to represent the larger society whose characteristics are being studied involves the demarcation of an area where these characteristics may be found. Nevertheless, the study of a community as both object and sample satisfies "two of the imperatives of all science: that hypothesis be built from empirical perception of interconnections of relevant phenomena and that generalization be checked by a return to it."[34]

As a scientific method, community study must address the question of representativeness, completeness, inclusiveness and cohesiveness. As a sample, a community must tell us how it "mirrors its culture or society so that we may read back from sample to universe."[35] It must therefore contain a human band with persons acting out roles and occupying different classes and statuses.

It must provide mechanisms within which all members of the community learn their roles and/or assimilate a consciousness of the different roles available for each member of the community. Furthermore, the social stratification of the community must have a temporal continuity wherein the lives and experiences of persons in different strata exhibit a certain amount of repetitiveness which reflects its culture and society.[36]

The completeness of a community is set by its boundaries. These boundaries are both physical and temporal. A community is the minimum unit of population aggregate wherein three generations of people of both gender interact in a definite pattern from birth to death and where mating is conducted between couples from different kinship groups.[37] Therefore, "a community is whole when the table of organization and its successive filling is complete."[38] The community is inclusive when it contains "persons who in their community stand at the joint between [high culture and local culture] and represent in their community and in their personal experiences the continuous mutual penetration the two sorts of specialization common to all complex societies everywhere display."[39] As for cohesiveness, "a sample community must reflect both the unities and the fisions of the parts it samples in its table of organization of the

whole society it mirrors ... within the outer limits of its own continuance."[40]

In delineating and describing a community one must analyze it as both a sample and an object. This is possible by identifying the structure and the institutions within an arbitrary physical boundary, describing its characteristics and tracing the historical events which brought about this structure and its institutions. After these have been accomplished, we can analyze the symbolic boundaries of the community and identify predominant constellations fashioned by tangential, intersecting and separate circles of meaning. As social scientists, we look for the enduring institutions of human interaction without endowing these structures with fixity and rigidness. We have to realise that structures, both physical and cultural, are the product of human interaction and may be modified or destroyed. Our analysis must therefore include a rationale of how these structures came about and how they are changing. By enriching our scientific observations with humanistic interpretations we take into account the rhythm which unifies and separates various permutations of human relationships.

B. Methodology

This study commences with the choice of the suburb of Double Bay as representative of the money economy and as reflecting a highly urbanized and differentiated community made up of different ethnic and religious groups. In Sydney Since the Twenties, Peter Spearritt argued that 'a class structure of suburbs was fixed and formalized' by the nineteen twenties and identified Ku-ring-gai, Woollahra and Mosman as being at the top of the hierarchy for both the 1921 and 1971 censuses.[41] However, Woollahra had a tenancy rate which was almost as high as those of the slums[42] and unlike Ku-ring-gai and Mosman had a lower proportion of Protestants residing within its boundaries.[43] Max Kelly referred to Woollahra as the home of the 'affluent tenant'.[44]

Double Bay is one of the suburbs within the Municipality of Woollahra. In a status ranking of 368 Sydney suburbs in 1961, Congalton placed Double Bay at the top six per cent of Sydney suburbs.[45] Furthermore, the 1986 census shows that over fifty per cent of Double Bay families have an annual income of $32,000 or more. Double Bay has a high proportion of overseas-born residents and is one of the more densely populated suburbs of Sydney.[46]

Statement of the Problem:

It is the purpose of this study to show how a community's present character is shaped by its history and to demonstrate the role of tradition, ideology and money as stabilizing mechanisms for the organization of life within Double Bay. The study has the following specific objectives:

1. To show the historical growth of Double Bay as a community from the onset of English settlement;
2. To demonstrate the distinctiveness of Double Bay from the rest of Sydney and Australia in terms of its history and socio-economic profile.
3. To describe the boundaries, structures and institutions which operate within the village; and
4. To identify the symbolisms which unite the community and to demonstrate the ability of the population to negotiate the future through a realistic appraisal of their history, tradition, economic interests and relative power vis-a-vis their environment.

Sources of Data:

The study analyses data obtained from the following sources:

1. Historical books, records, maps and life histories recorded on tapes.

Historical records are utilized to show how each successive group of settlers defined the character of Double Bay.

2. Census statistics, Municipal records and real estate figures.

Census data are utilized to provide the demographic, social and economic characteristics of Double Bay on the basis of the enumerated population at the 1986 Census of Population and Housing. The analysis provided is comparable to any other locality and geographic subdivision in Australia on the basis of census definitions of the variables used. Relevant data from the 1971, 1976 and 1981 censuses are also utilized to provide information on population trends and changes in population composition. Prior censuses were not analyzed as these were not disaggregated to the postcode level.

In addition to census data, municipal records and real estate figures were used to compare Double Bay with Australia in general.

3. Council Meetings and media coverage.

Regular attendance at Council Meetings provided an important aspect of the research. Observations were scrupulously compared with published working papers and media reports.

4. Participant-Observation, informants' accounts and

informal interviews.

A large portion of the research was spent observing the movements of people, listening to as well as participating in conversations with persons within the Double Bay shopping centre and surrounding areas. Attendance at open houses provided by real estate agents was a valuable source of information on the grand houses of Double Bay as well as the interiors of unrenovated federation houses. Observation was guided by statistical information. On the other hand, insights gained from observations led to searches for empirical data. Informants' accounts and informal interviews were utilized to fill in gaps in information. All such information were verified from at least one other source of data.

The study of Double Bay commences with its history and is the subject of Chapter II: The Changing Landscape. This chapter traces the growth of Double Bay from an Aboriginal area called Diendgullah to its various transformations as a European village. Chapter III describes the boundaries, structures and institutions of Double Bay which includes the political structure of the Municipality of Woollahra. Chapter IV sets forth a statistical analysis of the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the village. Relevant comparisons to the statistical characteristics of

Australia are included. Chapter V presents an interpretative portrait of the village as culled from observations and informants' accounts and includes impressions normally missed in empirical studies. Chapter VI presents a case study of the Double Bay redevelopment scheme and shows how local government, business and the people negotiate the future character of the shopping centre through a realistic appraisal of its power vis-a-vis big business and big government. The community redefines the image of Double Bay as an international cosmopolitan centre through the development of consensus based on communication and community consultation. Finally, the conclusion and summation of main arguments is the subject of Chapter VII.

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4. Tönnies, Ferdinand, quoted by R. E. Pahl in Whose City? Hammondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1975, p. 84.

5. Bell, op. cit., p. 25.

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9. Redfield, Robert, quoted by Bell, Ibid., p. 43.

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12. Ibid., p. 32.

13. Lewis, David J. and Richard J. Smith, American Sociology and Pragmatism. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980, p. 4.

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16. Plant, Ibid., pp. 86 - 87.

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21. Ibid., p. 105.

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36. Ibid., pp. 19 - 23.

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CHAPTER II

THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE

Australian history is primarily a history of immigration. The rationale for the settlement of New South Wales as an experimental penal colony[1] clearly established a dichotomous social structure of gaolers and convicts. The rigid 'super-ordination/subordination' relationship among the first fleeters established the rhythm of future relationships with incoming migrant groups which were permeated with suspicion and resentment. The 'them and us' mentality which still characterizes various segments of Australian society may be traced to an historical accident which questions the possibility of establishing a multi-cultural society. For the first fleet was a culturally divided group with a predominantly English core of senior officers, Scottish junior officers and an Irish convict group.[2]

This division reflected the class structure in the United Kingdom which resulted from the annexation of Scotland and Ireland as England's first colonies. The cultural division was aggravated by religious differences between the predominantly Catholic Irish and their Protestant gaolers.[3] Moreover, English Protestant convicts were in an advantageous position vis-a-vis the

gaolers in obtaining supervisory positions over their fellow convicts. The first European settlement in Australia was therefore highly stratified in terms of class, ethnicity and religion as closely interrelated factors.

The relationship between the first immigrants and the original inhabitants of Australia revolved around the administration of force by the military as a means of securing the dominance of the immigrant group over the Aborigines. Both force and coercion were applied to the Aboriginal population in order to extend and stabilize white settlements in the colony.[4] The inability of the Aboriginal population to successfully mobilize against the invaders secured their position at the bottom of the economic, political and cultural development of the colony.

Immigration policies further intertwined class, ethnic and religious differences. In the early days of settlement, migration to Australia by people with capital was encouraged in order to absorb convict labour and served as an impetus for pastoralism. When urban centres began to grow, mechanics and other skilled workers were identified as desirable migrants. On the other hand, the commencement of industrialization required a reversal in policy and the migration of unskilled workers to work in

mining and industrial concerns was encouraged.[5] Furthermore, immigration policies preferential to particular ethnic groups were inextricably bound with the groups' religious affiliation. An estimate of migration figures between 1947 and 1969 by Charles A. Price shows that 84% of migrants with Anglo-Saxon ancestry received government assistance in terms of transportation, jobs and accommodation. Over 67% of Northern Europeans and 65% of Eastern Europeans were assisted migrants. On the other hand, only 24% of Southern Europeans and 3% of Asian and Pacific Islanders combined, received government assistance.[6] Even before their arrival in Australia, migrants were already divided into migration classes which defined their 'housing class'[7] and employment prospects upon arrival. The economic burden of immigration was lighter for the predominantly Protestant Anglo-Saxon and Northern Europeans than it was for the predominantly Catholic migrants from Italy and Greece.

The historical growth of Double Bay is interesting in its ability to stand between the boundaries of the cultural growth of the colony and to be relatively untouched by the bitter class and ethnic struggles out of which the city of Sydney evolved during the past two hundred years. The Eastern suburbs slumbered while the

city grew westward. Within the Eastern Suburbs, Double Bay did not grow as rapidly as the surrounding suburbs of Bondi Beach, Bondi Junction, Rose Bay, Darling Point and Watsons Bay. From the onset of colonization, it grew as a planned community with clearly defined eligibility for settlement. Incoming migrant groups did not settle in Double Bay in clusters, first because it was too far from the city and the sources of labour and, later, because it had become an expensive place to live.

The first group of settlers in the 1830's and 40's were relatively homogeneous in terms of socio-economic status and race. Incoming migrants settling in Double Bay after it had become a fashionable suburb were necessarily better placed economically and socially which made them more acceptable to their neighbours. Unlike areas of rapid immigration, the fusion of cultures in Double Bay occurred gradually and sparingly, thereby allowing different groups of people to evaluate each others' distinctness without being overwhelmed by the differences. While the influence of the dominant culture was paramount, assimilation occurred both ways and individual and/or group differences did not evolve into ethnic or religious conflicts.

In 1788, Diendgulla was inhabited by the Eora who had lived in close proximity to nature for the past 35,000

years. The Eora was a nomadic tribe who roamed from Sydney Cove to Watsons Bay and obtained much of their food from the bounty of the sea and the bush. They hunted fish with three or four-pronged spears tipped with bone. Fishing was a family affair with men lying across canoes with spears, watching their prey pass by. The women dangled lines made of twisted barks soaked in tree sap and attached to shell hooks with vegetable gum. In summer, the Eora lived well and supplemented their diet of sea food with yams, snakes and wichetty grubs.[8]

When the cold winds of winter came, the Eora clustered in caves and did not stray too far away from the life-giving fire. During the bleak winter months their diet was meager as the fish stayed away and the bush was ungenerous with its gifts. In those dark days and nights, old men passed away the time by chipping on cave walls, flat rocks or cliff faces portraits of fish, kangaroos and their ancestral spirits. Long nights were also good for dreamtime --- homeric tales of a timeless land.[9]

In Diendgulla, the life of the Eora was organized around communal property. They were bound to the land by ancestral and spiritual ties which endowed them with sole hunting and fishing rights to the area. Although life was precarious, distant kin were sometimes given permission to share the bounty of the land. Existence

was always a struggle but the Eora was free and secure in their birthright.[10]

In 21 January 1788, the first fleet entered Port Jackson and landed in Camp Cove. The British came to Australia to establish a penal colony after the American War for independence ended the transportation of convicts to Virginia.[11] From the very beginning, class differences between gaoled and gaolers was paramount. High ranking officers were recruited from the educated but less privileged English elite while the lower echelons were made up of adventurers. The convicts were mostly from the lower classes who were transported for crimes ranging from vagrancy, petty theft, larceny or murder. It was not a friendly group which first landed in Sydney.

The contact between primitive and industrial groups is always devastating. The Aborigines saw their food supply vanishing with the first European nets pulled out of the ocean. The delicate balance of a subsistence economy was upset and the natives were reduced to starvation. European diseases such as smallpox decimated their numbers.[12] The streams which provided the Eoras with water for thousands of years were polluted by people who took nature for granted.[13] The Eora lost their birthright and struggled for acceptance by the white man. In 1799, Diendgulla was shown in Grimes' map as Keltie Bay

after the navigator of 'Sirius' from the first fleet while the small bay on the eastern side was called Blackburn Cove.[14] The land ceased to be Eora and became English.

Within this structure, individual men and women interacted with each other. Some of the Eora remained even after they had been dispossessed of their land. Matthew Flinders referred to Bungare as 'a worthy and brave fellow' who sailed with him around Australia. Bungare mediated between his people and the Europeans and once protected an escaped convict who was attacked by natives in the bush. Bungare is buried in Rose Bay and was powerless to prevent the breakdown in the social structure of his tribe.[15] He spent his last days leading his people in an undignified existence as the object of the colonialists' amusement.[16]

In Diendgulla, Gurrah did not relinquish his fishing rights. In a European society where rum was used as a currency for exchange, it did not take long for the demoralized native population to assimilate the habits of the dominant culture. Gurrah and his people took to drinking and carousing at all times of the night. This annoyed his neighbour, Mrs. W. Busby, who attempted to convince Gurrah to exchange his ancestral rights to the land with goods.[17] However, Gurrah had become part of the money economy and insisted on being paid with the

white man's currency. The amount of seven shillings was agreed on and Gurrah took his people further up the bush in what is now called Bellevue Hill. Seven Shillings beach was named after one of the first commercial transactions between an Eora and an Englishwoman. In agreeing to this commercial transaction, Mrs. Busby acknowledged the rights of Gurrah to the land, treated him as a commercial equal and established a relationship with her former neighbour.

After taking his people up the hill, Gurrah continued to visit Mrs. Busby to share his treasures of broken beads and shells.[18] In the rest of the South eastern region of Australia, the Aboriginal population of approximately 300,000 were decimated through the combined efforts of the military and the pastoralist to claim the land from the bush and its original inhabitants.[19]

In Sydney, the elite lived on the summit of Observatory Hill at Cumberland Place with the social hierarchy descending down to the squalor of the Rocks.[20] The rich commercial and merchant classes established residence in Hyde Park, Macquarie Street and Lower Fort Street. The military was housed in the Barracks around George Street.[21] The centre of government was at Parramatta and the city grew westward.[22] Nevertheless, it was fashionable to ride out in carriages to New South Head

Road which ended at the picturesque lighthouse which stood guard at the southern entrance of the harbour.[23]

In 1821, Governor Macquarie rode down to Keltie Bay with his friends and was enthralled with the beauty of the area. He concluded that the Botanic Garden should be transferred from Farm Cove to Keltie Bay and reserved twenty acres for this requirement. However, Commissioner Bigge did not release the funds and the idea was forgotten.[24] When Governor Macquarie left Sydney in 1821, there were approximately 30,000 people living in Sydney, half of whom were convicts or ex-convicts with only 1,300 free settlers.[25] By 1830, Keltie Bay became known as Double Bay and continued its bucolic existence while Rose Bay and Watsons Bay were growing into self-contained communities. In 1834, Surveyor Larmer prepared a plan which marked out the nucleus of the village. The beachfront was reserved and called the Steyne. There were five streets in the original village. These were Ocean Street, Bay Street, Swamp Street (now Guilfoyle Avenue), Cross Street and Lillian Street (now William Street).[26]

The transportation of convicts to New South Wales ended in the 1850's and state-assisted immigration became the new source for labour.[27] While some of the pastoralists and squatters agitated for the resumption of

transportation of convicts as a cheap source of labour, others imported Indian and Chinese workers from the British colonies to work in the fields. The Lands Act, which was supposed to provide pastoral land to any settler who wanted it, discriminated against newly arrived migrants in its application. Both pastoralists and the established squatters expanded their land holdings at the expense of the predominantly Irish small farm holder.[28]

While pastoralists represented the dominant group during this period, a growing core of urban capitalists emerged. Realizing their subordinate position in terms of state-provided convict labour, they were instrumental for agitating for free immigration.[29] In this, they were supported by the working class which was largely made up of recent migrants who wanted to obtain higher wages by preserving the scarcity of labour.[30] While most immigrants were poor, the arrival of immigrants with some capital and/or education created a new kind of tension. Pardoned convicts who had worked themselves up the hierarchy and appointed as magistrates by Governor Macquarie were displaced by the newly arrived professionals.[31] This created resentment towards immigrants who through their mental and/or financial capital did not start life in the colony at the bottom of the social ladder and were accepted by most of the elite

as their social equals. In a newly developing colony, money bought social acceptance from a military/bourgeois aristocracy. Therefore, migrants who went directly into the pastoral industry were assigned free convict labour and transformed their initial investments into large fortunes.[32]

From the very beginning, Point Piper and Darling Point were the exclusive residence of Sydney's growing elite just as the highest points in Bellevue Hill were graced with the large houses of the Fairfaxes, the Knoxes and the Lambs. Double Bay lies at the bottom of these hills and served as the nucleus of an area which was meant to cater to the needs of the rich residents around it. Plans for the nucleus of the village were modest and were meant to attract the respectable working class. Double Bay was described by the Sydney Gazette on 2 September 1834 as a miniature Brighton. The half-acre lots were auctioned for twenty pounds each, enough room to establish a cottage and an English garden. The New South Head Road was under construction and was meant to induce immigrant mechanics and fishermen who could not afford to live in Sydney to settle in Double Bay. The Anglization of Diendgulla was complete. However, the twenty pound homesteads remained unsold and little settlement had developed between the 1830s and the 1860s. The first

settlers were fishermen and market gardeners. Barley was planted by the settlers and for the next seventy years, certain parts of Double Bay was used for this purpose.[33] While most of the Australians who obtained small farms under the land selection acts were overrun by the graziers who controlled water rights and other privileges,[34] the market gardeners in Double Bay were able to maintain their independence and eke out a viable existence in close proximity to their market.

The first gas lights were installed in Sydney in May 1841 and were a welcome sight in Sydney's treacherous streets.[35] Towards the end of 1848, the first omnibus service to Double Bay commenced its service. The double decker bus was pulled by four horses and made four daily trips to the city during the week and one on Sunday.[36] In June 1849, Surveyor Gordon marked out more than fifteen acres of land east of Bay Street (Figure II.1) for Daniel Cooper and Solomon Levey in exchange for land they owned jointly in Bellevue Hill which was later designated as Cooper Park.[37]

When Daniel Cooper applied for permission to construct a wharf in Double Bay in 1853, a plan of the village showed one building facing the ocean, one building each in Bay Street and William Street, and three or four buildings in South Street. Among these buildings were

POINT PIPER ESTATE

The property of Daniel Cooper Esq^re

DANIEL COOPER AND SOLOMON LEVEY CONSOLIDATED GRANT

Being a consolidation of the following Grants for which no deeds was executed. Wm Jennings 40 ac Wm Pitson 20 ac John Foster 60 ac Thomas Golson 40 ac Jno Gibson 60 ac R Pantimbus 40 ac J Hall 60 ac ... Brian 60 ac W Bradley 60 ac & John Pitson 20 ac

WAVERLEY

Deposited Plan No 12.429

Clark Island

Darling Point

DOUBLE BAY

JOHN PIPER'S PT VICTORIA

ROSE BAY PARK

"Rose Bay Lodge"

"Dranbrook"

"Kambala"

"Trahlee"

"Gunnamulla"

"Wallaroo"

"Glenroy"

"Rondelay"

"Cheeks Subd"

PRESTON ESTATE

COLEBROOK

THE STEYNE RESERVE

VILLAGE OF DOUBLE BAY

DOUBLE BAY

SWAMP

BAYSWATER ESTATE

DOUBLE BAY

FORMERLY UPPER BELLEVUE ROAD

FORMERLY LOWER BELLEVUE ROAD

BELLEVUE ESTATE

Sec.1

Sec.2

Sec.3

Sec.4

Sec.6

MAIN SEWER LINE

EDGECLIFF

LINDSAY

DARLINGTON

DELANEY

ADELAIDE

A. MURRAY

JAMES CHISHOLM

H. WATT

BOND

F. KNIGHT

RESERVE

LIFF WARD

RUSHCUTTERS BAY

PADDINGTON

SCALE OF CHAINS

SCALE OF MILES

SCALE OF FEET

Guilfoyle's 'Exotic Nursery' at the corner of South and Ocean Avenue, the Royal Hotel which was abandoned by workmen when gold was discovered in New South Wales and later converted into a butcher's shop, and the Double Bay Hotel in front of it. The villagers included old Waterloo who made brooms for the gentry, a fisherman named Richardson and Michael Guilfoyle --- a former gardener of Thomas Mort. Double Bay was a quiet place and was mostly made up of market gardens. In view of the paucity of settlement, Cooper's application was approved in order to make Double Bay and the new suburb of Paddington accessible to Sydney's growing population.[38]

The nucleus of the village developed. Two to ten acre blocks were made available for lease on the heights east of the bay. These ninety-nine year leases were taken up by the gentry and large houses were built. Seaford House was built by the Hon. S.D. Gordon, a letter carrier, wine merchant and eventually a prominent member of Sydney society. The house was renamed Glenyarrah but was thereafter called Gladswood after it was purchased by J.S. Brunton. Redleaf was built by William Walker, merchant colonist and first Commodore of the Royal Sydney Yacht Squadron in 1863. Mr. Tooth built Blackhurst in William Street. Other prominent Double Bay residents were A. Fairfax and John Greer.

In 1858, parcels of land south of New South Head Road were sold to Freeman, Davis, Unwin and others. The area from Edgecliff to Manning Road comprised market gardens worked by Horton, Ridley, Blackman, Fegan and Seeng Yat with a dairy owned by Richard Scholes. By 1857, Double Bay had become a fashionable place to live and was described by one of its residents --- William S. Jevons, an assayer at the Mint --- as 'eminently aristocratic' and he proudly cited the father of Daniel Cooper as one of his neighbours. In 1863, Baillier's Gazetteer mentions that Double Bay was a fashionable suburb of Sydney with a population of 320. By then, Double Bay harbour was home to beautiful yachts.[39]

An 1870 photograph shows the harbourside village of Double Bay with a main road (Bay Street) made of dirt intersecting a marshy Swamp Street. The Royal Oak Hotel is on Bay Street surrounded by open paddocks and a few mature trees.[40] By 1878, there were several private schools in the area. Among them were St. Mark's Church of England School, a Grammar School conducted by Mr. Norton and two others conducted by Miss Peterson and Mrs. Dutton. In 1883, the Double Bay Public School was established on William Street in front of the Steyne[41] and by 1894, the Ocean Street cable service to the city was opened.[42] Towards the end of the nineteenth century,

the social structure of Double Bay was a loose collection of self-made men in varying levels of achievement as well as workers, artisans, gardeners, and farmers. The village grew with the newly arrived immigrants who drifted down from the city while the surviving Eoras retreated further into the bush. Those who remained were seen begging in the streets.[43]

The British planners and gentry were not alone in defining the character of Double Bay during its early days. The marine village owed much to the arduous struggle of its first immigrants who hacked through the bush in order to create the barley fields, the market gardens and the paddocks. William Guilfoyle is credited with bringing the jacaranda as well as palm trees, staghorn ferns, Norfolk Island pines, tree ferns and other plants and flowers to Double Bay --- an achievement which[44] blended the beauty of an English countryside with the sweeping grandeur of the vast, new land. In creating a new and better life for themselves, the early immigrants displaced the Eora who became an underclass in their own land.

At the turn of the century, Double Bay was a quiet English village which remained oblivious to the turmoil in the city. Some of the barley fields and market gardens were subdivided and tiny cottages sprouted up around the

nucleus of the village. This corresponded to the rapid growth of Sydney which had become an international port of call with businessmen trading not only with England and its colonies but also with Valparaiso, Balboa and San Francisco. The citizens of Sydney were relatively prosperous, a condition which led to the improved status of women. Female employment became available in shops and clerical office work and by 1881, women were admitted to university.[45]

In spite of the prosperity of the city, poverty existed in various Sydney slums. The press stirred the racial prejudice of the working class by attributing unsanitary conditions and immorality to the 'Yellow Peril'. Although the Chinese were vindicated by the Royal Commission of 1891, the seeds of distrust had been planted in the minds of the working class and class differences had been transmuted into racial bitterness.[46] Double Bay was relatively free from racial conflict. The Chinese gardeners, who were invariably known as John or Charlie Chinaman, maintained a distant though cordial relationship with their clients who relied on them for their daily supply of fruits and vegetables.[47]

In Sydney, racial differences were not the only source of conflict. There existed mutual distrust between Catholics and Protestants which again disguised

class differences between the Irish immigrants and the English.[48] Trade unionism proliferated with the growth of commerce and industry and strikes sometimes led to bloodshed. There was a nagging awareness of social problems which remained muted in the nationalism and expansion which characterized Sydney at the turn of the century.[49] By 1880, the Education Act made schooling compulsory for children aged seven to fourteen[50] but it was not until 1881 that secondary education was made available in public schools[51] and 1911 that high school fees were abolished. There was a qualifying exam for entrance into high school. Those who failed the exams joined the labour force. Those who passed the exams were further divided into four categories. The majority of the girls went into domestic science while boys had a choice between junior technical schools or commercial schools. The fourth group included a select class of girls and boys who intended to go to university.[52]

By 1904, the Double Bay school was designated a 'superior school' which meant that it had at least twenty children in high school.[53] At any rate, the child's forgone income was a compelling concern for most families.[54] The cultural role of the churches decreased with the establishment of state education.[55] However, the strong relationship between the Catholic Church and the Irish

working class formed a sharp contrast to the identification of the Church of England with the upper classes.[56]

In 1900, the Bubonic plague descended on Sydney and many of the derelict cottages around the Rocks were burnt to disinfect a city of half a million people. A network of electric trams was laid out and suburban expansion commenced. The huge estate of Sir Daniel Cooper and Solomon Levey, which forms a great part of the Eastern Suburbs, was subdivided. By 1904, Sydney was lit up by electricity but most of the residents continued to depend on gas lights, wood stoves and the ubiquitous ice chests.[57]

The continued growth of Sydney through immigration resulted in a dearth of housing which necessitated a Royal Commission on the Improvement of Sydney in 1908. John Sulman and Norman Selfe supervised drawings designed for the beautification of Sydney in order to preserve its 'parklike skyline'. Model garden villages for workers were planned and built which incorporated six cottages to an acre and open spaces for clusters of twenty cottages.[58] During this period the foundation for the White Australia Policy found legitimation from the labour movement and liberal reformist to the point where even Southern Europeans had difficulty coming in as indentured

labourers.

> From the beginning, Australian radical nationalism had been characterized by a strident racism. The 'Bulletin' represented its authentic voice when it opposed the 'cheap Chinaman' and the 'cheap nigger'. In 1905, the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war sent shock waves through the whole of Australian society. Racists fears of a successful Asiatic military power played a crucial role in bringing about a renewed subordination of Australian nationalism to British imperialism. Australian nationalists increasingly looked, not to an independent anti-British republic, but to the need for imperial protection against Japan. (60)

The Englishness of Australia was re-affirmed at the expense of developing its own peculiar culture. With the outbreak of World War I, Australian soldiers were sent for immediate slaughter at the beaches of Gallipoli --- sacrificial pawns to centuries old European differences and English political intrigues.[61] Pre-war contracts between mineral producers and Germany created a sense of paranoia and distrust[62] which filtered down to differences between Germanic and Anglo-Saxon Australians.[63] However, the opposition of the predominantly Catholic and working class Irish to conscription united them with the socialists, feminists and pacifists in defeating the 1916 and 1917 referenda on conscription.[64]

During this period, Double Bay remained peaceful and unharried. A typical cottage in Double Bay consisted of three bedrooms, a living room, a dining room and an

outhouse. Kitchens had woodstoves and copper tubs for boiling clothes. There were ordinary cottages on New South Head Road between Manning Road to Cross Street. A fish shop with a huge ice chest stood at the corner of Cross Street and New South Head Road. Where now the carpark is at Cross Street was a church and a kindergarten. Mr. Perkins and Mr. Mortimer were grocers in New South Head Road. Mr. Galbraith ran the only taxi service and lived in a fairly big two-storey house at the corner of Manning and New South Head Roads. A florist, two cake shops and a shoe shop could be found in the main part of Double Bay. There was nothing past the junction of Manning and Epping Roads and there were rabbit warrens and blackberry bushes where Wallaroy Road is now. After the area around Manning, Kiaora and New South Head Road was developed, (Figure II. 2) the New South Wales Lawn Tennis Association laid out tennis courts behind the houses. Australia was very successful in the early Davis Cup games and a plaque was set in the footpath at the corner of Anderson and Patterson Streets to commemorate the Australian victories at the site by its two most outstanding players. Bellevue Hill was the last of the Woollahra suburbs to be developed and was for a long time covered with Christmas bushes and sandhills.

65

Tradesmen called at peoples' residences in a horse

Figure II.2

A Local Sketch of Double Bay

Source: Woollahra Municipal Library, Files on Double Bay

and cart. The milkman called twice a day with two plated brass tanks on the back of the cart. Families left their billycan and money at the gatepost for the milkman. When families ran out of milk during the day, children were sent up to the dairy to replenish household supplies. Rabbits cost six pence each and were brought once a week by the 'rabbit-o'. The rabbits were gutted but the skin left on to keep it fresh. Once they were purchased, the 'rabbit-o' skinned the body and tossed the head to waiting cats. The butcher called daily while the iceman came once a week. A six pence block of ice lasted for two to three days in enamel lined ice chests unless one was expecting company in which case a shilling block was bought. Firewood was brought by the woodman but the houseowner split it up. The Chinese gardeners called daily with a pole slung across their shoulders from which baskets of produce were suspended at each end. In those days, tradesmen gave clients presents of boiled sweets, clotted cream and fruit cakes at Christmas. Chinese gardeners gave special clients a ginger jar filled with spiced ginger. Families went for picnics in Bellevue Hill, Watsons Bay and Nielsen Park and everyone kept chickens in the backyard.

There existed tolerance, sensitivity and thought for others in the village in those days. Days of the

week were reserved for certain functions. There was a day for visiting, washing, ironing, cleaning, polishing furniture, gardening and a day for praying. Bathing was a weekly event with water heated in the kitchen and poured into a huge tub. Double Bay had a countrified atmosphere and everyone knew one another. Women exchanged cards and visitors left cards on a silver plate when they came to visit.[67] Most children in Double Bay went to school.

Up the hill, life was quite different. Houses were large and a retinue of servants kept them spotless. Privileged daughters did not go to school but were taught by governesses and lived lonelier lives than the less privileged. Mrs. Helen Rutledge, daughter of Sir Colin and Lady Stephen of 'LLanillo' in Ginahgulla Road, felt she was both socially and educationally handicapped for not having gone to Kambala. She recalls enjoying the smell of the laundry room where the laundress was pleasant and always willing to listen to her talk. Her friends were limited to children of her parents' friends and relatives. They did not have much to do with the village.[68]

During the first World War, life in the village went on as usual in spite of rationing. People simply managed without feeling burdened. Women were active in the Red Cross and prayed for their sons.[69] There was a

lot of poverty in those days but people who had some money sent their children to private schools.[70] The Armistice brought euphoria among the people and anyone who had been to war was welcomed home as a hero.[71] However, the First World War which came so close to the depression of 1890, shook the faith of the people in white supremacy and material progress which made the working class more sensitive to the ability of 'inferior races' to remain as a permanent underclass.[72] The second World War increased this fear with the initial American defeats in Pearl Harbour, the Philippines and the South Pacific as well as the Japanese occupation of the British colonies in South East Asia. Once more Australian soldiers were sent to Europe to fight for the Motherland leaving Australia and her vast coastlines defenceless until the arrival of American troops. Double Bay had its share of the excitement when two small Japanese submarines managed to penetrate American defenses and launched some shells into the village. Some of the houses were badly damaged and soldiers came to take away street signs as a precaution against the imminent Japanese landing. Although the residents' fears were allayed when the mini-subs were pulled out of the harbour, some of the villagers remained unconvinced and sold their houses for less than what they were worth at the time. This enabled post World War II

migrants a chance to settle in the village.[73]

The 1929 - 1933 depression which fell between the two great wars further disenchanted people in the idea of progress and economic development which resulted in the formation of defensive groups which rallied together to protect their positions in the political, economic and cultural spheres. The State cooperated with capitalists in the importation of British capital and the lowering of labour costs as an incentive for investment through the provision of inexpensive housing for the labour force as well as cheap land and utilities for industrial concerns. Australian industrialization did not proceed on a national basis but was concentrated in designated areas like Newcastle, Port Kembla, Whyalla and Wollongong. Furthermore, industrialization in Australia occurred under different conditions from England in that the workers were economically comfortable by the time Australia industrialized.[74] The working class' priority was to preserve their hard won rights which exhibited itself in mobilizing along ethnic lines against Continental Europeans. The poverty of the recent wave of migrants established their weak bargaining position vis-a-vis the capitalists. The Australian-born working class of British descent mobilized against the enemies at two

fronts --- the capitalists who were intent on increasing profits by lowering production costs and the recent migrants whose economic survival depended on their ability to work harder for less pay. Economic differences between a proletariat which had improved its material existence and a proletariat still struggling for survival caused battle lines to be drawn across ethnic and cultural boundaries.

Nevertheless, Continental migrants with some capital established businesses, shops and restaurants which contributed to the Europeanization of urban areas. The 'cafe society' flourished in Sydney and better-off immigrants found themselves suitable accommodation in Darling Point, Woollahra and Double Bay. The newly opened section of Bellevue Hill which was then known as Kambala Estate attracted Jewish migrants because of its proximity to the Eastern Suburb Central Synagogue in Bondi Junction. The burghers of Double Bay welcomed the Europeans who contributed in making the village more interesting and cosmopolitan. Continental shopkeepers were used to handling quality merchandise and wealthy clients. Many had themselves lived lavishly before they were dispossessed in an anti-Semitic Europe. Now they pampered the rich residents of the Eastern Suburbs who increasingly turned away from the city stores to patronize

Double Bay's exclusive boutiques and beauty clinics.[75]

The post World War II era which presaged the 'second long boom' saw a shift from British to American capital inputs. Racist fears of the 'Yellow Peril' propelled both federal Labor and Liberal governments to launch a European immigration program which totalled almost two million between 1950 and 1970.[76] This coincided with the fading of the British Empire and third generation colonial born British subjects were denied English passports by an England undergoing economic problems.[77] Many of them found their way to Australia as bearers of white supremacy, thereby reproducing the belief in the inferior status of blacks, Indians and Chinese in the former colonies and reinforcing the ideology of White Australia. While the resistance to Australian involvement to the Vietnam War was brought about by a better informed and less gullible population of young people in both the United States and Australia, a certain part of the resistance was obviously the desire of a White Australia to stay clear of an Asian War despite protestations of political leaders to the contrary.[78] The liberalization of Asian immigration during the Holt government was criticized within both governmental and opposition parties.[79] The influx of Vietnamese refugees,

which coincided with the idealistic and reformist Whitlam government, further aggravated the racial problem. Vietnamese refugees who competed for a share of the welfare dollar were the object of a complex mixture of pity, resentment and guilt. The influx of Lebanese refugees further aggravated the problem and the media became more and more inclined to talk about an Asian invasion. The Fraser and Hawke governments' courtship of foreign capital fueled the racial problem with the economic expansion of Japan and the infusion of capital from the unstable countries of South East Asia. The classic 'invasion/succession' phenomena observed by Chicago ecologists were replicated in the Greek, Italian and Yugoslav working class areas of Leickhhardt, Redfern and Cabramatta. Calls for a curtailment in Asian immigration are reminiscent of calls for a reduction in Southern European immigration, Irish immigration, 'exile-ism' and the influx of free settlers in previous eras. The reasons are obviously economic but have been imbedded with cultural influences which remain rooted in individual and group consciousness.

Once more, immigrants with capital settled in the Eastern Suburbs, buying peace, security and respectability for their families. The 'cafe society' of Double Bay acquired a sprinkling of Chinese restaurants catering for

various segments of society from the inexpensive concoctions of overseas Chinese to the haute-cuisine of Peking and Hongkong. The Royal Oak Hotel has acquired a Thai take-away outlet in its premises and Caribbean, Japanese and Indian food are available in New South Head Road. Social circles of various ethnic groups overlap in institutional settings such as schools, work and public amusements. Nevertheless, these groups remain separate: accept the others' distinctness without rancor or the hypocrisy of pretending that such differences do not exist. Economic conflicts within the village are largely devoid of racial and religious overtones and the burghers of Double Bay maintain their ability to serve and please their clients from diverse ethnic, religious and cultural orientations.

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64. Milner, op. cit., pp. 261, 266.

65. Life Histories, op. cit.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Hurst, op. cit., p. 23.

71. Birch, op. cit., pp. 275 - 277.

72. Askew, op. cit., pp. 188 - 189.

73. Life Histories, op. cit.

74. Connell, op. cit., pp. 270 - 279.

75. Life Histories, op. cit.

76. Connell, op. cit., pp. 292 - 293. See also Appleyard, op. cit., p. 9, Table 1.

77. Informer's account.

78. Alexander, Fred, Australia since Federation: A Narrative and Critical Analysis. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia Pty. Ltd., 1967, pp. 206 - 210, 276 277, 281, 326 - 328, 412.

79. Ibid., p. 276.

CHAPTER III

BOUNDARIES, STRUCTURES AND INSTITUTIONS

Double Bay occupies one square kilometre of low-lying coastal area located between the ridges of Edgecliff, Darling Point, Bellevue Hill and Point Piper. The village is a ten minute drive to the City and served by frequent buses. The nearest train station is on New South Head Road, in the suburb of Edgecliff, which is just across the boundaries of Double Bay. The village is bounded by Ocean Avenue, Manning Road and Wallaroy Road to the West, Cooper Park to the South, Bellevue Road and Streatfield Road to the East, and Gladswood Gardens and Sydney Harbour to the North. The Double Bay Creek runs underneath both the residential and commercial areas of the village from Castra Place, William Street, Cross Street and New South Head Road then surfaces along the eastern side of Kiaora Road to Cooper Park. Double Bay is located within an area which receives an annual median rainfall of 1000 millimetre and over and during periods of heavy rain, the water level rises above street level on the junction of New South Head Road and Kiaora Road.

There are 1,984 occupied private dwellings in Double Bay.[1] Of these, twenty-six percent are separate houses, four percent semi-detached and row/terrace houses,

Double Bay

DARLING POINT
Double Bay Sailing Club
N.S.W. 18' Sailing Club
Double Bay MARINA
Redleaf POOL
SEVEN SHILLINGS Beach
POINT PIPER
WINSTON Garden
Marine Parade
Castra Plain
Gladswood House
Blackburn Gardens
Woollahra Council Library
STEYNE PARK playground toilets war memorial
Spring Street
Beach Street
Houses & terraces
Stafford St.
Pearce St. Federation cottages
Shelbrook Meals on Wheels
Hugh Latimer Centre
WILLIAM Street
DOUBLE BAY Public School
terrace Houses
VERONA
Chevitorne House
MORT's cottage
the Nanny school
terrace houses
Guilfoyle Avenue
South Avenue
Royal Oak
Cooper street
Holt street
six storey Blocks
Henrietta st.
Brooklyn Lane
Exclusive Shops
Apartments
OCEAN AVENUE
galbraith WALKWAY
DONINI's
Copperfield townhouses
future site of Ritz-Carlton Hotel
Federation TRANQUIL AVENUE cottages
Church
CARLOTTA ROAD
CROSS Street
KNOX LANE
21 EXPRESSO
KNOX STREET
COSMOPOLITAN Centre
SHORT STREET
LANE
CROSS STREET
Gumtree Lane
Goldman
BAY
SOUTH
NEW
Golden Sheaf Hotel
Dilapidated building
CARPARK
houses
KIAORA LANE
CARPARK
PATTERSON STREET
houses
COURT ROAD
ANDERSON Road
MANNING ROAD
KIAORA ROAD
BELLEVUE HILL
BELLEVUE ROAD
MASONIC HALL
post office
APARTMENT BUILDINGS
LEURA ROAD
CARLOTTA ROAD
GLENDON RD
open stream
DOUBLE BAY Bowling CLUB
ARTHUR ROAD
WARREEN ROAD
RANFURLEY ROAD
HOLLAND ROAD
SUTTIE ROAD
NORTHLAND Rd.
COOPER PARK
FORREST ROAD
EPPING ROAD
Clarence Place
ELECTRIC sub-station
PINE HILL street
WALLAROY ROAD
EDGECLIFF
WOOLAHRA

N.B. Drawing not to scale

Figure III.1

forty per cent other medium density houses and twenty-four per cent flats located in buildings over three stories high.[2] The residential areas are found mostly on the southern side of New South Head Road and characterized by small, neat federation cottages with a sprinkling of larger houses and a few residential buildings. Most of the cottages located in the flatlands around the bowling green are still in their original condition although a number of cottages have been expanded upward over the years. The trend for renovation increases as one goes up the slope to Bellevue Hill through Carlotta, Suttie, Arthur, Warren, Ranfurley and Northland Roads. Carlotta Road is particularly noted for the renovation of houses in a manner unsympathetic to the character of the area which is aggravated by tall apartment buildings at the bottom of the slope on Leura Road.

Across New South Head Road, William Street and the area to its north has a mix of low-rise apartment buildings, terraces, detached and semi-detached housing. Pearce Street has a row of small, unrenovated federation houses while larger houses are found on and to the west of Beach Street. The triangle formed by Ocean Avenue, Henrietta Street and Cooper Street is mostly occupied by six-storey residential buildings with a mix of detached and terrace houses from Cooper Street to the bay. Ocean

Avenue is the location of one of the most spectacular renovations in the community. A multi-family dwelling at 65 Ocean Avenue was renovated by the developer, Bill Shipton, into a grand residence boasting large reception rooms, five bedrooms, five marble bathrooms, heated pool, a tennis court, wine cellar, full air conditioning and staff quarters.[3] Verona was sold before auction in September 1987 for $3.9 million to a New Zealander.[4] On the other hand, another Bill Shipton project, Chevithorne House on 51 Ocean Avenue, which went on auction in June 1988 did not attain its reserve price of $3.5 million and remained unsold until the end of the year. Chevitorne House was the original carriage house to the Brooksby Estate built by Mr. Maclehose, a parasol maker, on a portion of a grant to Elizabeth Pike in 1838. It was named by Mr. C. A. Luxton Loney, manager of the Ammonia Company Limited and General Chemical Company Limited of George street, when he purchased and expanded the gatehouse in 1920.[5] The house was later converted into a multi-family dwelling until its current renaissance into a grand residence in the Shipton manner of stylized and interpretative preservation.

Another landmark in Double Bay is the historic Mort's Cottage on 38 Ocean Avenue. Mort's Cottage was built by convicts around 1840 as a temporary residence for

Thomas Mort while his Darling Point residence, Greenoakes, was being constructed. Mort's Cottage is a picturesque two storey sandstone residence with two tiny upstairs bedrooms. It has been extended and modernized to include a swimming pool without altering its original character. Mort's Cottage is classified by the National Trust.[6]

At the northern boundary of Double Bay, another grand and historic residence classified by the National Trust is utilized as a corporate guesthouse. Gladswood House, which was originally set in two hectares of garden, is hemmed in by buildings whose value has increased due to the desire of the current owners to restore the residence and its surroundings to its former glory.[7] The grand houses of Double Bay, which includes the Municipal Council building, are located on the slopes of the Point Piper and Darling Point boundaries of the village. Double Bay is noted primarily for its shopping centre rather than for the residential areas around it.

The commercial area commences on New South Head Road and covers the whole stretch from Bay Street to William Street and is concentrated within the triangle formed by the three thoroughfares. The nucleus of the commercial centre is found in Knox Street and spills over to Cross Street and Transvaal Avenue. The commercial centre is made up of exclusive boutiques, specialty shops

and restaurants as well as local establishments like butchers, cake shops, newsagencies, shoe-repair shops, fruiterers, and fish shops which may be found in any local community. However, a distinctive feature of Double Bay is the preponderance of sidewalk cafes which gives it the ambiance of a seaside Continental village rather than an English country shire. The Continental atmosphere is reinforced by the sounds of different languages with French, German, Italian, Hungarian, Greek and Polish predominating.

The community is served by two schools, the Woollahra Kindergarten at the Hugh Latimer Centre (named after the mayor of Woollahra from 1949 - 1951) and the Double Bay Public School on William Street. The Woollahra Kindergarten was established in 1984 and is licensed to admit sixty pre-schoolers from ages three to five. The school operates at more than full capacity from Monday to Friday from 8:45 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. It is run under the control of a parent-based Management

8

Committee on Council premises.

The Double Bay Public school was established in 1883 and is run by the Department of Education as a primary school. The school is regarded highly in the community and draws its students from a large catchment area from Bellevue Hill, Point Piper, Edgecliff and

Darling Point. However, Double Bay parents prefer to send their children to private schools. Of the 227 infant and primary school children residing in Double Bay, only forty percent are in government schools. By the time Double Bay children reach secondary schooling, seventy-eight percent are in non-government schools.[9] These figures are consistent with the Municipality of Woollahra where sixty-four percent and eighty-one percent of school children attend non-government primary and secondary schools respectively.[10] On the other hand, only twenty-four and thirty per cent of Australian school children attend non-government primary and secondary schools.[11]

Both the Woollahra Municipal Council Building and the Woollahra Municipal Library are located on the Double Bay section of New South Head Road. The Council Building was originally called Redleaf and was built by William Walker around 1863.[12] The library was called St. Brigid's and was the residence of the Hunter White pastoralist family until the 1950's when it was acquired by the Council.[13] Both buildings have magnificent views across the harbour and surrounded by Blackburn Gardens above Seven Shillings Beach. Adjacent to the Library is the entrance to Redleaf Pool which is owned by the Municipality and operated by a private concession. Redleaf Pool is utilized by Double Bay residents, people

who work in the community as well as some residents from neighbouring suburbs. The library is well-patronized by residents in the municipality and provides a delivery service, manned by volunteers, for the handicapped and the elderly. It has a separate section for children and during school holidays, special programs are provided for them.

The Double Bay Bowling Club, located on Kiaora Road, is the preserve of Double Bay's senior citizens. The club has over three hundred members, most of whom are over the age of seventy and have been members of the club for a long time. They are primarily long term residents of Double Bay or retired residents from neighbouring suburbs who sold large houses when the children grew up. The majority of the members are Australian-born except for some post-war British migrants.[14] The club was established in 1942 through the combined efforts of Woollahra Council and residents from the surrounding properties to rescue the marsh from a Water Board plan for a sewerage disintegration works. The original members assisted in clearing the land and in maintaining the first green. Lewis Cohen, Sir William McKell and John Gaden have specific garden areas named after them due to their extensive contribution in time, effort and money into the establishment of the grounds and gardens.[15] A visit to

the Double Bay Bowling Club is like a step back in time where well-groomed ladies and gentlemen in their whites conduct their activities with the ease and familiarity of a long shared past. They know their place in society and have grown up with the trees in the municipality. The greening of Sydney occurred in their lifetime and they cling to the few patches of green that still exists in Double Bay. It is a friendly and caring group who have managed to maintain their haven in a fast changing world.

On the other hand, the existence of a church in Double Bay is virtually unknown to casual observers. The simple church, which looks more like a chapel in its proportions, sits comfortably beside various retail outlets. The Uniting Church is tucked inside a shopping arcade adjacent to the Municipal carpark in Cross Street and is located on the groundfloor of the building at the corner of Transvaal Avenue. As the only church in the village, it promotes ecumenism and its premises are used by other churches for various services and activities. On Sundays, there are three services. The Uniting Church conducts a morning mass which is attended primarily by the elderly and an evening mass attended by a cross-section of its parishioners. The Catholic Church celebrates the third mass for its members.

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The church hall is utilized for a variety of

community functions. Narcotics Anonymous, whose members are mostly eighteen to twenty-five years of age, meet regularly at the church hall. East Sail uses the hall for meetings and lectures and the Double Bay Chamber of Commerce conducts some of their meetings here. The Uniting Church members work with Meals on Wheels, deliver tapes to some blind people, do some shopping for the elderly and provide free household repair service to residents who cannot afford to pay for these services. Between June and December of 1988, Reverend McCloud ran a drop-in centre for young people which was utilized by some children from Double Bay and Rose Bay.[17]

The focal point of the village is the bay which is dominated by the Double Bay Sailing Club and the N.S.W. 18' Sailing Club jutting out of the bay on Marine Parade. The N. S. W. Sailing Club has been serving the community for fifty-four years and has been at its present site for thirty-one years.[18] The club has three thousand members from all parts of the Eastern Suburbs with about half of them coming from Double Bay. These days, the club has more social members than sailing members and serves as one of the coveted vantage points for the start of the Sydney to Hobart race held yearly on Boxing Day. However, one has to go through the residential section in Castra Place and a little nameless alley to find the wharf wherein the

big boats are located. Unlike the N. S. W. 18' Sailing Club, the Double Bay Marina is not marked on street directories. The commercial marina was established ten years ago and charges an average of $700 and $200 per month for berthing and mooring respectively. Among the boats berthed at the Double Bay Marina are Southern Cross II and Debutante owned by Alan Bond and Dominguez Barry Samuel Montague (DBSM) respectively. These and similar boats are manned by paid crews.

The conservative image and economic importance of the area is reflected in the political life of the community. The Federal seat of Wentworth which comprises the State seats of Bligh and Vaucluse is held by Dr. John Hewson, the shadow Treasurer in Canberra. North of New South Head Road, Double Bay is part of the Vaucluse electorate while the area to the south is included within the electorate of Bligh. However, a major portion of the Municipality of Woollahra is part of the safe Liberal electorate of Vaucluse represented by Mr. Michael Yabsley, State Minister of Corrective Services in the State Legislature. Mr. Yabsley was elected unopposed in the Vaucluse by-election after Dr. Ray Aston, who held the seat of Vaucluse since May 1986, died suddenly in May 1988. Dr. Aston, was a Catholic and a highly regarded member of the community. His father, Sir William Aston,

was a former speaker in the House of Representatives.[19]

Mr. Yabsley, who was the former Liberal spokesman on prisons before narrowly loosing his seat of Bligh to Mrs. Clover Moore, was expected to hold the portfolio for Corrective Services in the Coalition Government. After his defeat in Bligh, Mr. Yabsley accepted a position from the prominent Sydney stockbroker, Mr. Rene Rivkin who is a resident of Vaucluse.[20] The death of Dr. Aston was a chance occurrence which was astutely used by Mr. Greiner and the Liberal Party to reinstate the political career of Mr. Yabsley.

"Local government is the third tier of government in New South Wales, although it is not recognized as such in the Constitution."[21] Local governments do not have a share in the personal income tax of residents but derive most of their income from rates and other services. Commonwealth financial assistance grants are channelled through the State government wherein one-third is allocated on a population size basis and the remainder two-thirds are distributed to local authorities on a needs basis as determined by the State Grants Commission.[22]

The Municipality of Woollahra varies considerably from East to West and from North to South. However, statistics on average income are highly inflated due to

the presence of high income individuals in Point Piper, Bellevue Hill, Darling Point and Vaucluse. Census figures indicate that twenty-three per cent of individuals living in Woollahra have an annual income of $9,000 and below with only six per cent earning over $50,000 a year.[23] Provision of services within the municipality for both high and low income earners is met by Municipal funds as Woollahra does not qualify for Commonwealth grants on a needs basis.[24] The Municipal Council has a delicate task catering for various segments of the population inasmuch as the needs of low-income earners must be met through the provision of recreation and services which are considered unnecessary by the higher-income segment of the population.

The Woollahra Municipal Council has fifteen aldermen representing five wards. These are Bellevue Hill, Cooper, Double Bay, Paddington and Vaucluse. Bellevue Hill Ward is represented by David Joel, Peter E. King and Malcolm G. Stenning. Alderman Joel has served the Council since 1977 and is a company director in the film industry. Peter King is a Barrister-at-law while Malcolm Stenning is a publisher. Both are new to the Council, having been elected in 1977. Cooper Ward is represented by Susan M. Collett, David Rofe and John H. Darling. John Darling, a solicitor and company director,

is new to the Council. Susan Collett and David Rofe have been with the Council since 1980 and 1978 respectively. Alderman Collett is a company director and served as mayor for 1988. Alderman Rofe is a Queen's Counsel and served as mayor in 1981.[25]

Double Bay Ward is represented by Elaine A. Cassidy, Darel F. Hughes and Beatrice A. Gray. Both Hughes, a chartered accountant and Gray, a Barrister-at-law, were elected unopposed in 1987. Elaine Cassidy has been with the Council since 1980 and is the current mayor of Woollahra. Paddington Ward is represented by Margaret L. Carter, James R. Dupree, and Catherine E. Lemech. Both Carter, a marketing consultant, and Lemech, a school teacher, are on their second term while Dupree, a solicitor is on his first term. Vaucluse is represented by Michael T. Rigg, an airline pilot, Hylda A. Rolfe, a Statutory Officer and Chairman of the Prices Surveillance Authority of Australia and Rose Watson, a medical secretary. Rolfe is a long serving alderman and was mayor in 1986.[26] Rigg and Watson were elected in 1987.

Woollahra Council is a conservative government. Both the elected aldermen and Council Staff are committed to preserving the history, beauty and uniqueness of the communities which make up the municipality. Election to Woollahra Council is highly influenced by the Woollahra

Action Committee (WAC) which is composed of prominent residents of the municipality. The Committee was formed in 1959 in opposition to a proposed international hotel. Since then, it has sought control of the Council by preventing the election of individuals with interests in the municipality. It has been particularly successful in blocking the election of many developers and real estate agents.[27]

WAC is committed to preventing high-rise developments and preserving the 'village-like atmosphere' of the municipality. It also has the support of the Vaucluse Progress Association, established in 1915, whose main concern is the preservation of the 'amenity of the area'. The Vaucluse Progress Association has always supported WAC candidates. WAC supports its candidates logistically and financially. Individuals who desire to be endorsed by WAC are interviewed by an election committee composed of WAC members as well as former and current WAC endorsed aldermen, who select candidates according to an undefined criteria which preserve a balance of interests and qualifications. Elected WAC candidates are not indebted to the Committee and may vote any way they please on various issues. However, they are required to caucus among themselves on the election of mayor, deputy mayor as well as the chairmanship and

memberships of various committees.[28]

WAC is a functional committee and is formed four months before every election. Membership is by invitation only and each member contributes to the campaign fund as well as help raise contributions from other sources. Approximately $30,000 was raised for the September, 1987 election. Before the election, 12 out of 15 seats were held by WAC-endorsed aldermen. WAC endorsed three candidates for each of the five wards in the 1987 election. The candidates for the Double Bay Ward, comprising Point Piper, Double Bay and Darling Point ran unopposed. David Joel, an independent, was the only other candidate for the Bellevue Hill Ward and was re-elected to Council. The Woollahra Independents run three candidates for Cooper Ward. Only David Rofe, a former WAC endorsed alderman, was elected. However, WAC did not do as well in both the Vaucluse and Paddington Wards. The Vaucluse Independents endorsed three candidates, two of whom were elected to Council thereby unseating two of the encumbent WAC aldermen. Of the WAC candidates, Hylda Rolfe, strongly supported by the Vaucluse Progress Association, was re-elected. In the Paddington Ward, James Dupree (Labor) and Catherine Lemech (Independent) were elected together with one WAC endorsed candidate.[29] The influence of WAC, which is closely

identified with an elite group of professionals, may be waning as the current Council is composed of nine WAC endorsed aldermen, five independents and one Labor alderman. However, the Council remains a conservative liberal stronghold and maintains its philosophy of conservation of the environment and historical buildings as well as the exclusion of high-rise developments in the area.

The principal staff officers are: Michael Regnis - Town Clerk/General Manager, Stephen Blackadder - Deputy Town Clerk, Dennis Cafe - Municipal Engineer, Terry Reid - Chief Building Surveyor, Harry Healey - Chief Health Surveyor/Director, Environmental Services, Greg Woodhams - Chief Town Planner and Faye Lawrence - Chief Librarian. The Council has approximately three hundred and seventy full-time employees.[30]

The Council objectives are:[31]

1. To create and maintain a Council structure which can adapt to new ideas and changes in community values; and can play an active part in the flow of information between the community and the Council.

2. To continue and improve, the corporate approach to management, with expertise of elected Aldermen and the staff being welded into an effective multi-discipline effort to achieve the objectives of the Council.

3. To help formulate performance goals for the Council in the achieving of pre-determined objectives, and to monitor the implementation

of programmes designed to meet those performance goals.

The full council meets every second and fourth Mondays of each month at 7:30 p.m. and is open to the public. The Finance and Works Committee and the Building and Development Committee meet every first and third Mondays of each month at 5:30 p.m. The Policy Committee and the Community and Environmental Planning Committee meet at every second and fourth Mondays of each month at 5:30 p.m. All committee meetings are open to the public and business papers are available. Mayoral interviews are held on Thursday afternoons and appointments can be made through her secretary.

The hegemony of tradition provides a stable and non-conflict oriented Council and a certain amount of continuity of projects from one mayor to another. Mayoral elections are simple inasmuch as the WAC dominated Council pre-select candidates among themselves, nominate one candidate for each position and vote as a block at Council elections. In the 28 September 1988 election, there was some question about whether Alderman Susan Collett would run for a second term as mayor. However, WAC presented a united stand at the election with the nomination of Alderman Elaine Cassidy as mayor and Alderman Margaret Carter as Deputy Mayor. Alderman

Beatrice Gray, another WAC endorsed alderman was nominated by Independent alderman David Joel for the mayoral post. However, she indicated that she was unable to accept the nomination. Alderman Elaine Cassidy was elected unopposed. Nevertheless, there were indications that Alderman Beatrice Gray would have been elected Deputy Mayor had there been no WAC pre-selection.[32]

Australia's Bicentenary was celebrated with enthusiasm in the Municipality of Woollahra. The Council's major project was the construction of the Cliff Walk costing $145,000 which stretches from South Head to Christison Park. It provides one of the most magnificent views in Sydney and follows a route from Gap Park in Watsons Bay through the old fortifications near the Signal Station up to the Macquarie Lighthouse. Other projects included the three million acquisition and restoration of Juniper Hall by the National Trust. A Twilight Picnic to commemorate the first recorded entry of Europeans into Sydney Harbour was held on January first. Other activities included the Colonial Ball in the Governor's ballroom at Cranbrook School, the Bicentennial Art Contest, the Queen Street Celebrations, the Vaucluse Regatta, the Cooper Park Concert plus a host of school and community activities.[33]

Woollahra is proud of its Anglo-Saxon heritage and

aims to preserve its tradition. Nevertheless, the dominant group is tolerant of ethnic and religious diversity. This is exhibited in the presence of different ethnic and religious schools in the Municipality. Kincopal Convent of the Sacred Heart (Catholic) is found across Kambala Church of England Girl's School. Scots College (Presbyterian) is within walking distance from Moriah College (Jewish). Cranbrook (Church of England) and the non-denominational Ascham School are also found within the municipality. Woollahra is an example of a community wherein the influence of the dominant culture is paramount but where the interpenetration of cultures between dominant and subordinate groups occurs both ways.

NOTES:

1. Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census of Population and Housing 1986. Microfiche, Small Area Data, Postcode 2028, Format CSC, Table C36.

2. Ibid., Table C37.

3. Site inspection, promotional materials.

4. Telephone conversation with agent.

5. Wentworth Courier, 1 June 1988, p. 184.

6. Site inspection, promotional materials, conversation with agent.

7. Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1988, p.6.

8. Woollahra Municipal Council, Annual Report to Residents, 1988. Telephone call to school on 18 July 1988 indicated that there were 80 children enrolled.

9. ABS, op. cit., Table C20.

10. Ibid., revised data for New South Wales, Table C1.

11. Ibid., Australia, Format CSC, Table C20.

12. Jervis, op. cit., p. 52.

13. Ibid., p. 164.

14. Interview with Mr. Salmon, Treasurer of the Club, 24 January 1989.

15. Frumar, Morrie, "Double Bay Bowling Club's History of the First Twenty-Five Years, July 1942 to July 1967" Sydney Bowling News, 9(4), September 1988, pp. 13 - 14.

16. Telephone interview with Rev. McCloud, 23 January 1989.

17. Ibid.

18. Wentworth Courier, 24 August 1988, p. 33.

19. Ibid., 25 May 1988, p. 3.

20. Sydney Morning Herald, 24 May, 1988, p. 1; 31 May, p. 4.

21. Central Mapping Authority, Atlas of New South Wales. N. S. W. : Department of Lands, p.40.

22. Loc. cit.

23. ABS 1986, op. cit., Woollahra, Format CSC, Table C23.

24. Telephone interview with Mr. Cade, 22 January 1989.

25. Woollahra Municipal Council, Annual Report to Residents, 1988.

26. Ibid.

27. Silva, Wilson da, "Woollahra Action Group Draws Fire at Stormy Meeting", The Eastern Herald, 24 September 1987, pp. 8 - 9.

28. Loc. cit.

29. Loc. cit.

30. Annual Report to Residents, op. cit.

31. Ibid.

32. The Eastern Herald, 25 August 1988, p. 2; 29 September, p. 7. Wentworth Courier, 21 September 1988, p. 16; 5 October, pp. 4, 14; 12 October, p. 9.

33. The Eastern Herald, 5 January 1989, pp. 1, 6. Annual Report to Residents, op. cit., Council leaflets to advertise events.

CHAPTER IV

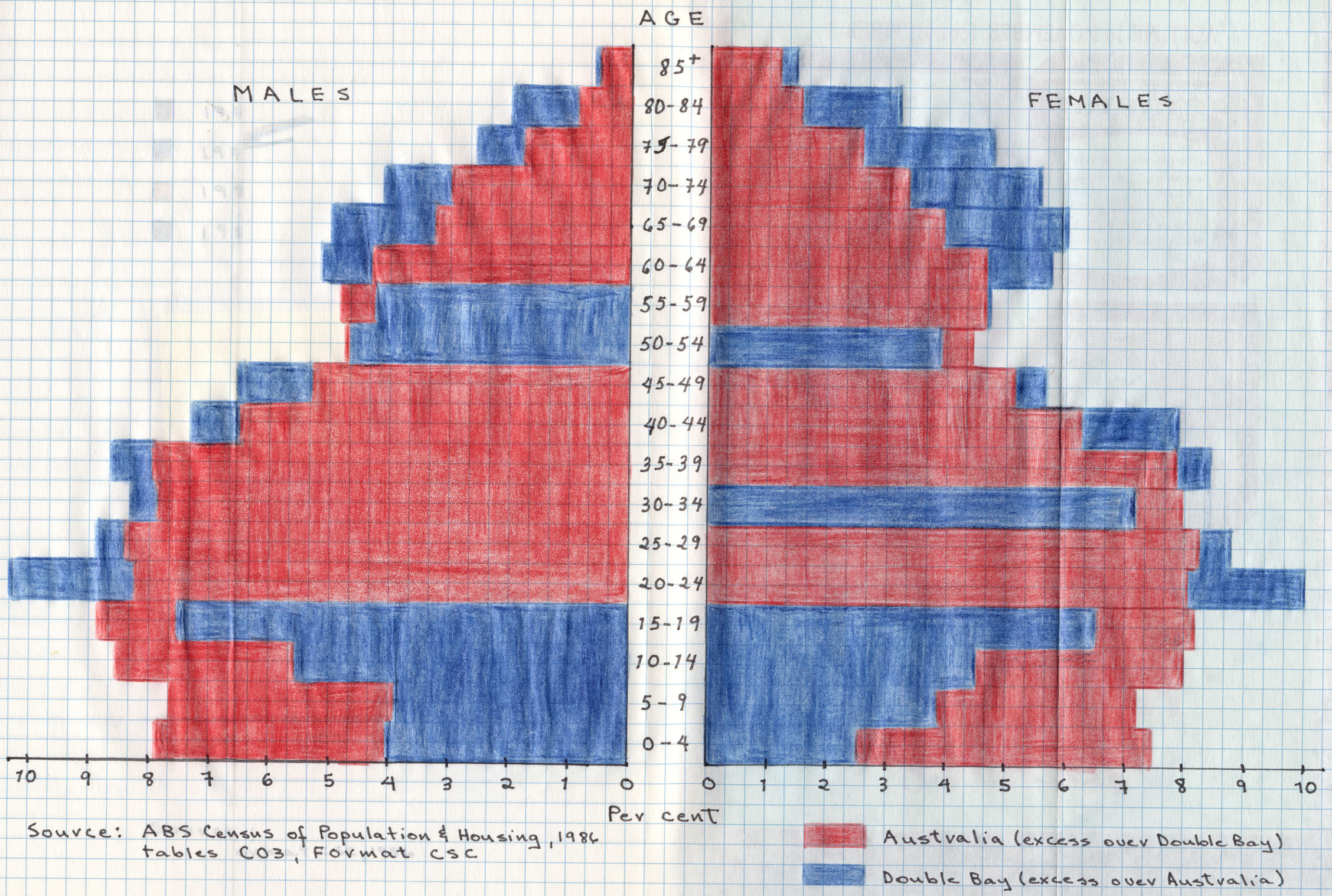
DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILE

The 1986 census enumerated 4,507 persons in Double Bay making it one of the more densely populated suburbs in Sydney.[1] Double Bay is a suburb for grown-ups with only three percent of its population below the age of five. Children aged five to fourteen comprise nine percent of the population while older children age fifteen to nineteen represent seven percent. Figure IV.1 shows an inverted pyramid for the five year age groups from zero to twenty-four which is strikingly pronounced in comparison to the Australian experience. Both young adults (20 - 29 years) and the elderly (60 years and more) are over represented in Double Bay.

The population of Double Bay has remained fairly stable between 1971 and 1986 with a slight increase (1%) in population between 1971 and 1976. The total population decreased by four per cent in 1981 and one per cent in 1986. Figure IV.2 shows that the age distribution of males does not vary considerably between intercensal periods while the age distribution of females between the ages of twenty to sixty-four does so. This is particularly true between 1971 and 1986.

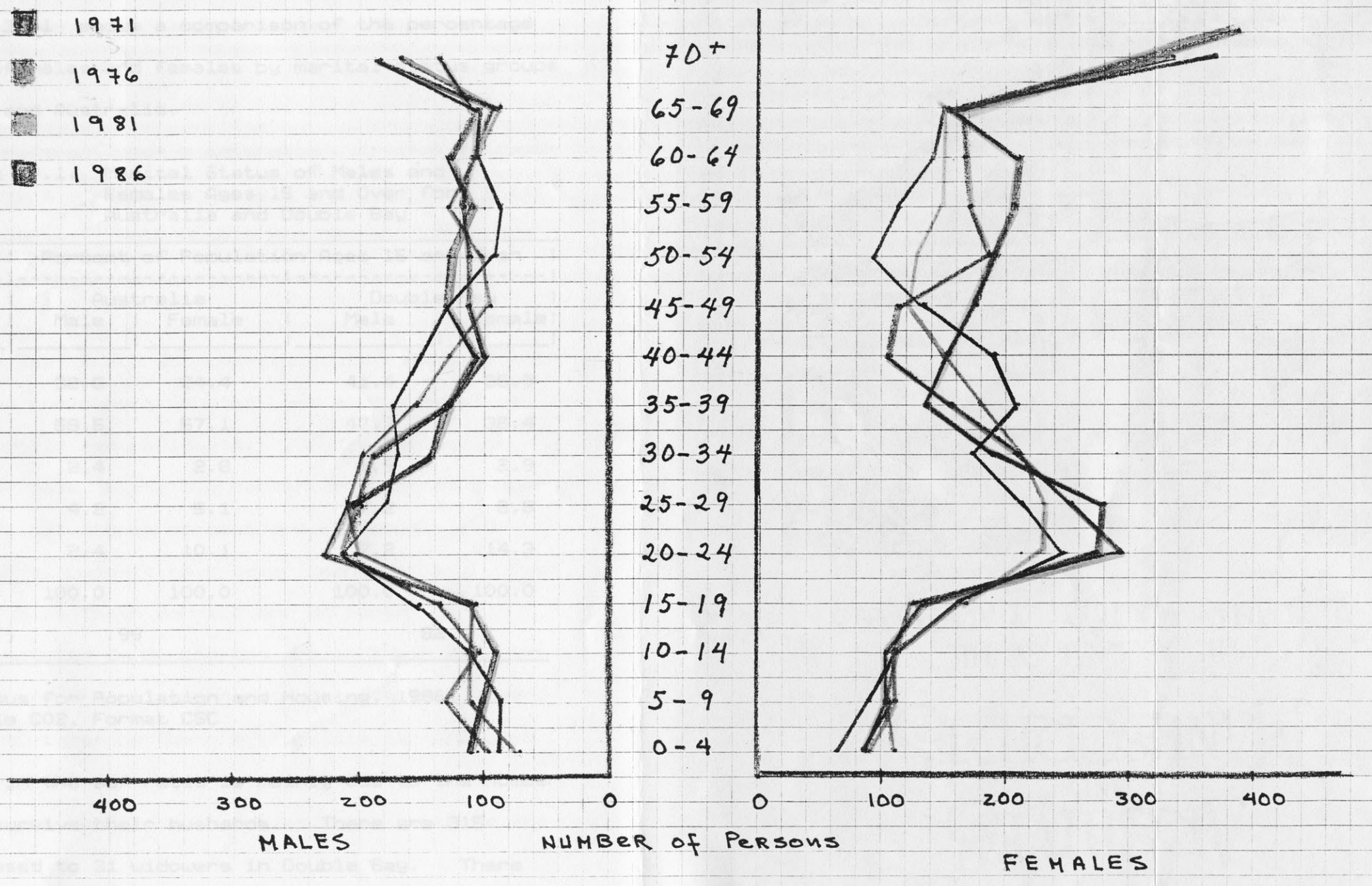
There is a preponderance of females over males in

FIGURE IV.1: POPULATION STRUCTURE, 1986: Double Bay & Australia



Source: ABS Census of Population & Housing, 1986
tables C03, Format CSC

FIGURE IV.2: Double-Bay — Population structure for 1971, 1976, 1981 & 1986



Source: ABS Census of Population & Housing; table 1, 1971; table 6, 1976;
table 7, 1981; table C02, Format CSC, 1986

Australia where the sex ratio is 99 males for every 100 females.[2] Double Bay's sex ratio is more pronounced. There are 82 males for every 100 females in Double Bay[3] and the sex ratio for the Australian born is 75:100.[4]

Table IV.1 shows a comparison of the percentage distribution of males and females by marital status groups in Double Bay and Australia.

Table IV.1. Marital Status of Males and Females Ages 15 and Over for Australia and Double Bay

Marital Status	Percent of Population Ages 15 and Over			
	Australia		Double Bay	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Never married	32.5	24.4	41.4	35.9
Married	58.5	57.1	47.7	38.4
Separated	2.4	2.8	1.9	2.9
Divorced	4.2	5.1	7.2	8.5
Widowed	2.4	10.1	7.2	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sex ratio (M/F)	99		82	

Source: Census for Population and Housing, 1986, Table C02, Format CSC

The imbalance in the sex ratio is mainly due to the number of women who survive their husbands. There are 315 widows as opposed to 31 widowers in Double Bay. There

are also fifty-nine per cent more separated and divorced women than men living in Double Bay.[5] Australian-born residents are more likely to be unmarried than overseas born-residents with over half of Australian born males belonging to the never married category.[6] Furthermore, the preceding table shows that for both Double Bay and Australia as a whole, men tend to postpone marriage longer than women. However, once a separation, divorce or death occurs, men have a greater tendency to remarry than their female counterparts. Both Double Bay men and women are much less likely to be married than Australians in general.

Double Bay is a predominantly adult community with a high level of employment coupled with a high level of unmarried and childless residents. Of the population aged fifteen or more, sixty-two percent are in the labour force of whom ninety-three percent are employed.[7] Of these, forty-three percent have never been married.[8] Over half of the couples (both married and de facto relationships) living in Double Bay are on their own with only thirty-seven percent living with dependent children.[9] Moreover, thirty-three per cent of families earning over $40,000 a year are couples without any dependent children.[10] In fifty-three per cent of all couples, both partners are employed.[11]

Table IV.2 shows the percentage distribution for Double Bay and Australia.

Table IV.2: Employment Status of Couples

Employment Status	Australia	Double Bay
Male, Female both employed	44.0	53.0
Male only, employed	30.7	22.4
Female only, employed	2.3	4.3
Both not employed	23.1	20.4
Total	100.0	100.0
	(N = 3,377,643)	(N = 791)

Source: Census for Population and Housing, 1986
Table C14, Format CSC

The above table shows that Double Bay has almost ten per cent more couples who are both employed than Australian couples in general. There are also more couples in Double Bay where the woman rather than the man is employed.

Furthermore, Double Bay families have much higher incomes than Australian families in general. Table IV.3 shows that over a quarter of Double Bay families have an income of over $50,000 or more a year and over half have annual incomes of $32,000 or more.

Table IV.3: Percentage Distribution of Families with Annual Income above $32,000

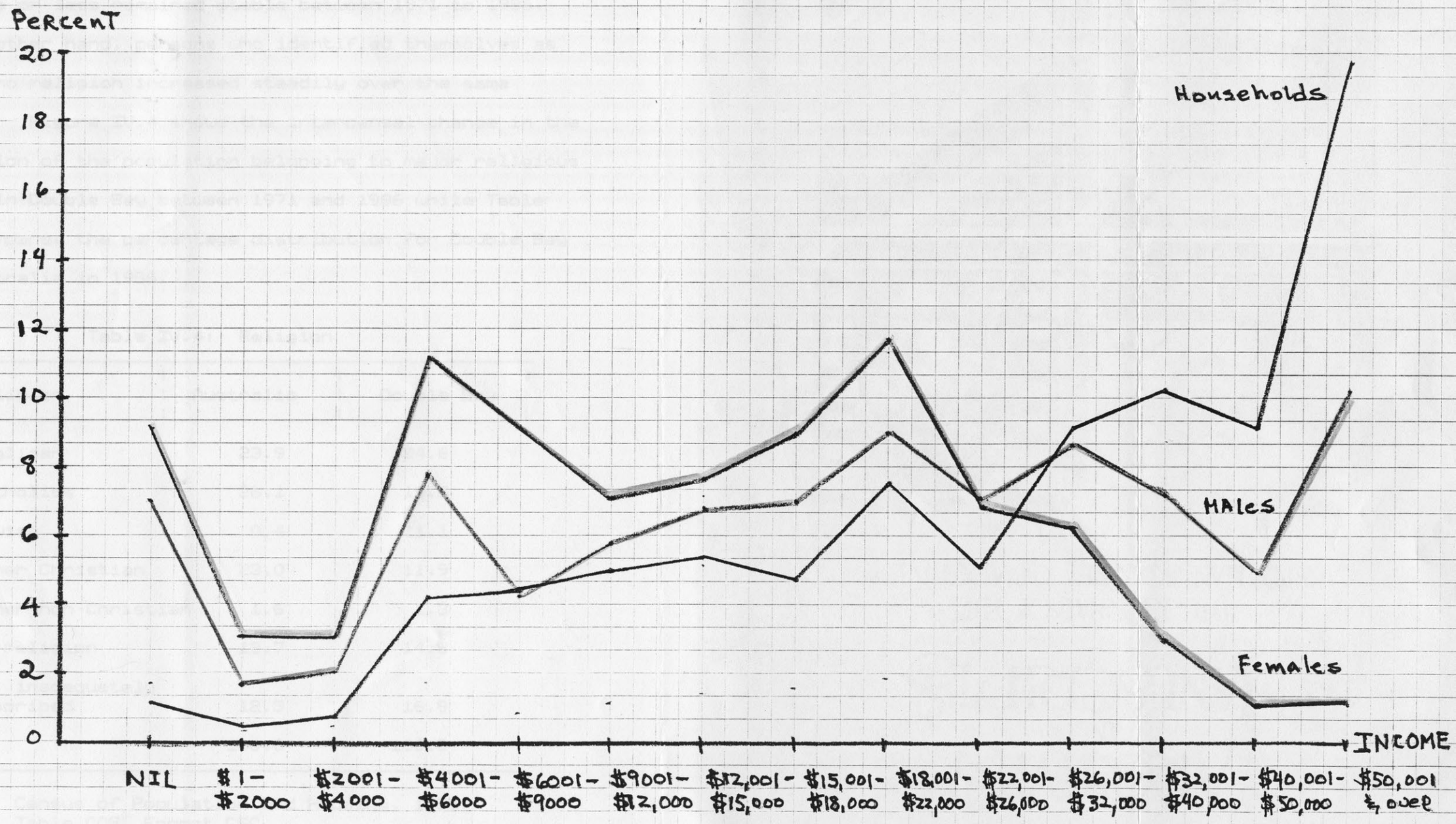
Income	Australia	Double Bay
$32,000 and above	29.8	50.4
$40,000 and above	18.0	39.0
$50,000 and above	9.4	28.4

Source: Census for Population and Housing, 1986
Table C23, Format CSC

However, high incomes in the area are predominantly the result of double income households rather than individual achievement as only five percent and thirteen percent respectively of individuals earn over $50,000 and over $32,000 a year. Figure IV.3 shows that these individuals are mostly males. There are only 31 females earning over $50,000 a year in comparison with 181 males. Figure IV.3 also shows a fairly high proportion of the population earning less than $15,000 a year, a phenomenon which can be attributed to the high proportion of elderly people in the community.

Between 1976 and 1986, the number of Anglicans declined in Australia while overseas migration increased the number of Catholics making Catholics the largest religious group in the country.[12] In Double Bay, the Anglican population decreased by seventeen percent during

FIGURE IV.3: ANNUAL INCOME, DOUBLE BAY, 1986



SOURCE: ABS Census of Population and Housing, 1986, table C23 Format CSC

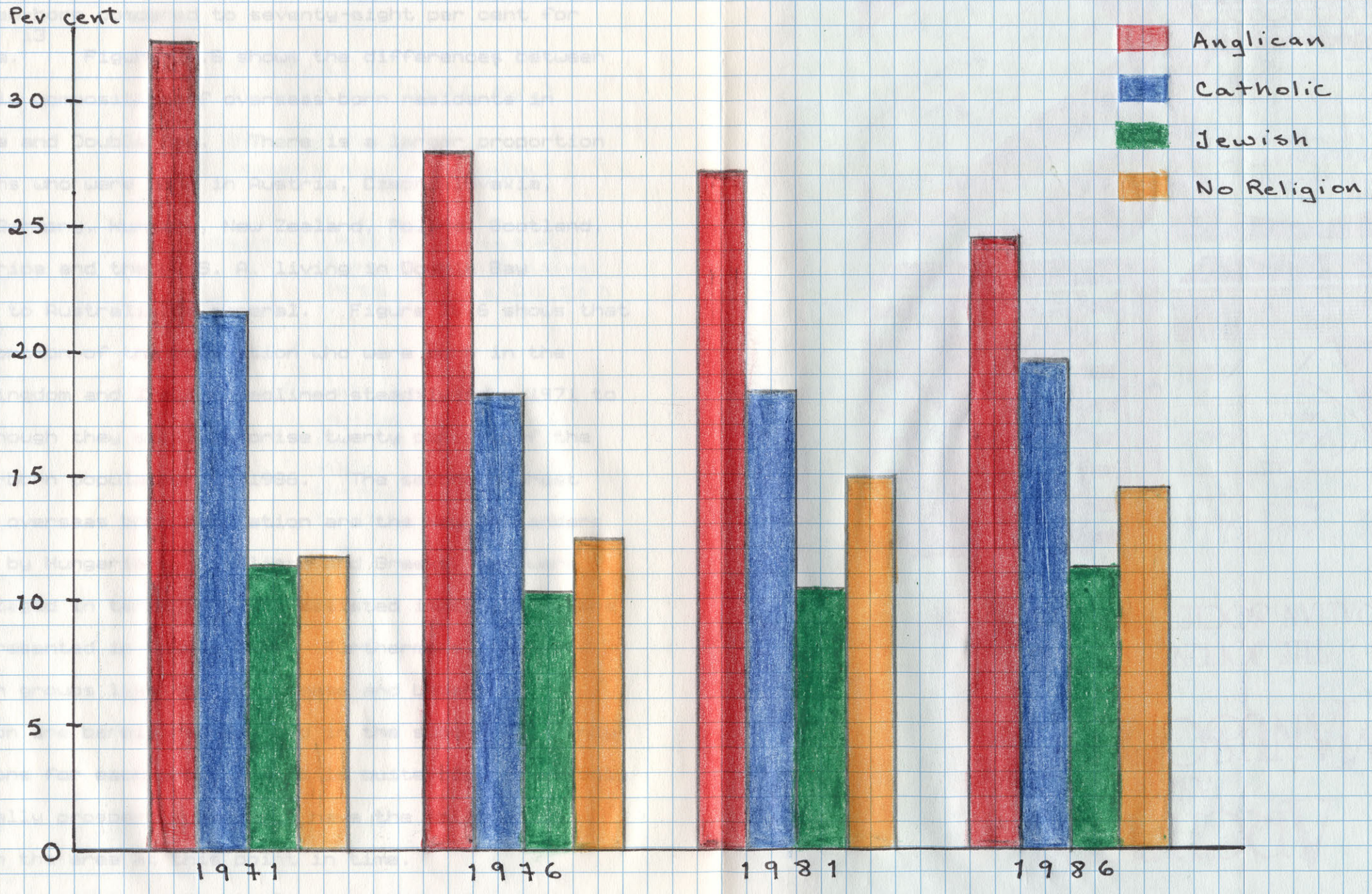
the same period but maintained its position as the largest religious group. Moreover, there is a large concentration of persons professing the Jewish faith in Double Bay which has more or less remained stable between 1971 to 1986. On the other hand, persons who identified themselves as having no religion increased steadily over the same period. Figure IV.4 shows the intercensal change in the proportion of the population belonging to major religious groups in Double Bay between 1971 and 1986 while Table IV.4 compares the percentage distribution for Double Bay and Australia in 1986.

Table IV.4: Religion

Religion	Australia	Double Bay
Anglican	23.9	24.6
Catholics	26.1	19.5
Jewish	0.4	11.1
Other Christian	23.0	11.9
Other non-Christian	1.6	1.3
No religion	12.7	14.8
NS, inadequately described	12.3	16.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1986
Table C05, Format CSC

Figure IV. 4: Intercensal Change in Major Religions as a Proportion of total Population, Double Bay

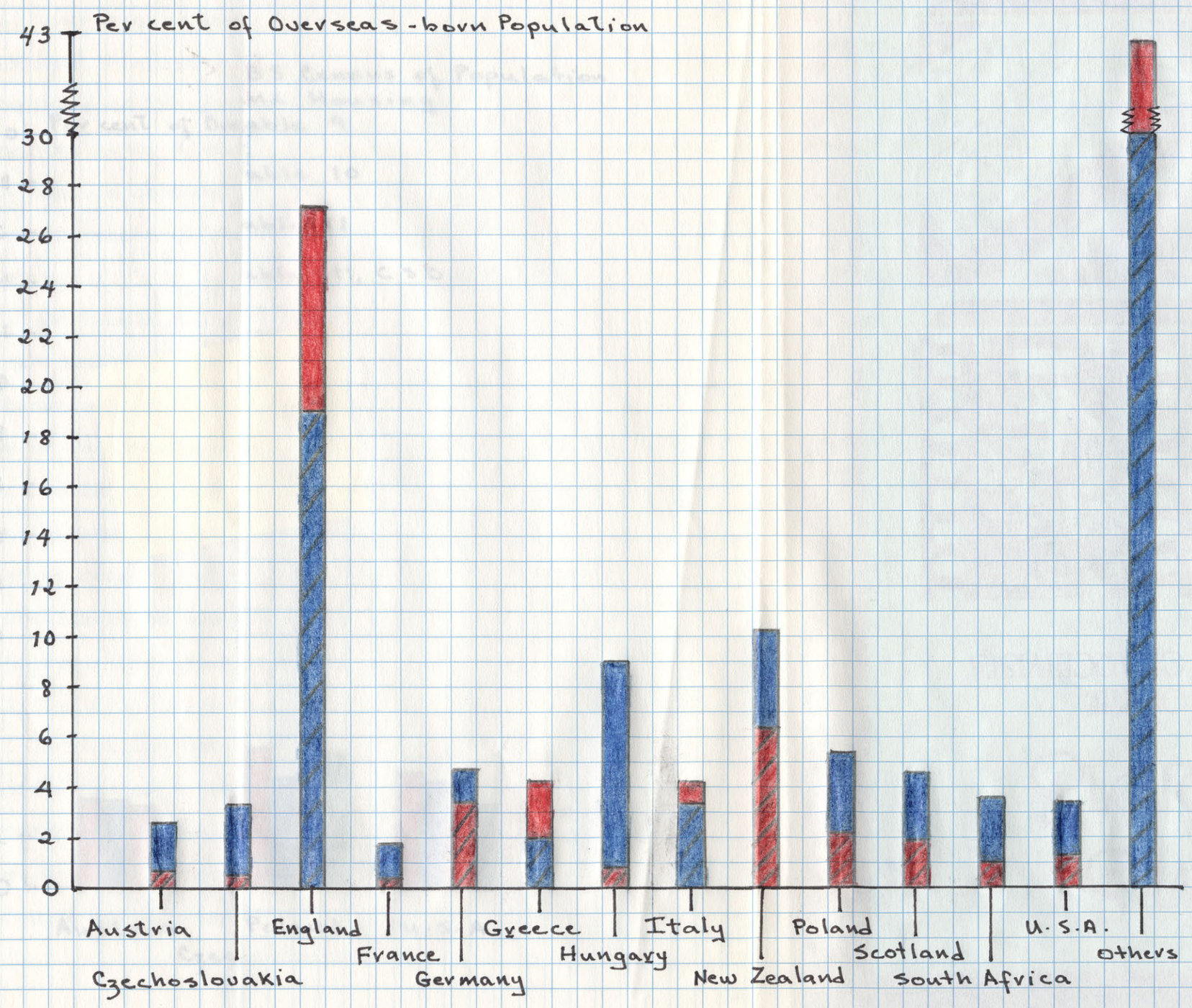


Source: ABS Census of Population and Housing; 1971 table 3, 1976 CDSF 12, 1981 table 8, 1986 CSC, C05.

Double Bay has a lower percentage of Australian-born residents than the Australian population in general. Only three-fifths of the population of Double Bay are Australian-born compared to seventy-eight per cent for Australia.[13] Figure IV.5 shows the differences between the ethnic composition of overseas-born residents in Australia and Double Bay. There is a larger proportion of persons who were born in Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, New Zealand, Poland, Scotland, South Africa and the U. S. A. living in Double Bay compared to Australia in general. Figure IV.6 shows that the proportion of the population who were born in the United Kingdom and Ireland declined steadily from 1971 to 1986 although they still comprise twenty percent of the overseas-born population in 1986. The second highest group of overseas born population are the New Zealanders followed by Hungarians. Italians and Greeks, who were disadvantaged in terms of state-assisted immigration, are underrepresented in Double Bay. Furthermore, recent migration groups like the Vietnamese and Lebanese population are barely represented in the suburb with only two persons for each group. It is quite clear that only economically prosperous migrants have the ability to settle in the area at this point in time.

Nevertheless, Double Bay is ethnically varied in

FIGURE IV. 5: MAJOR COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN



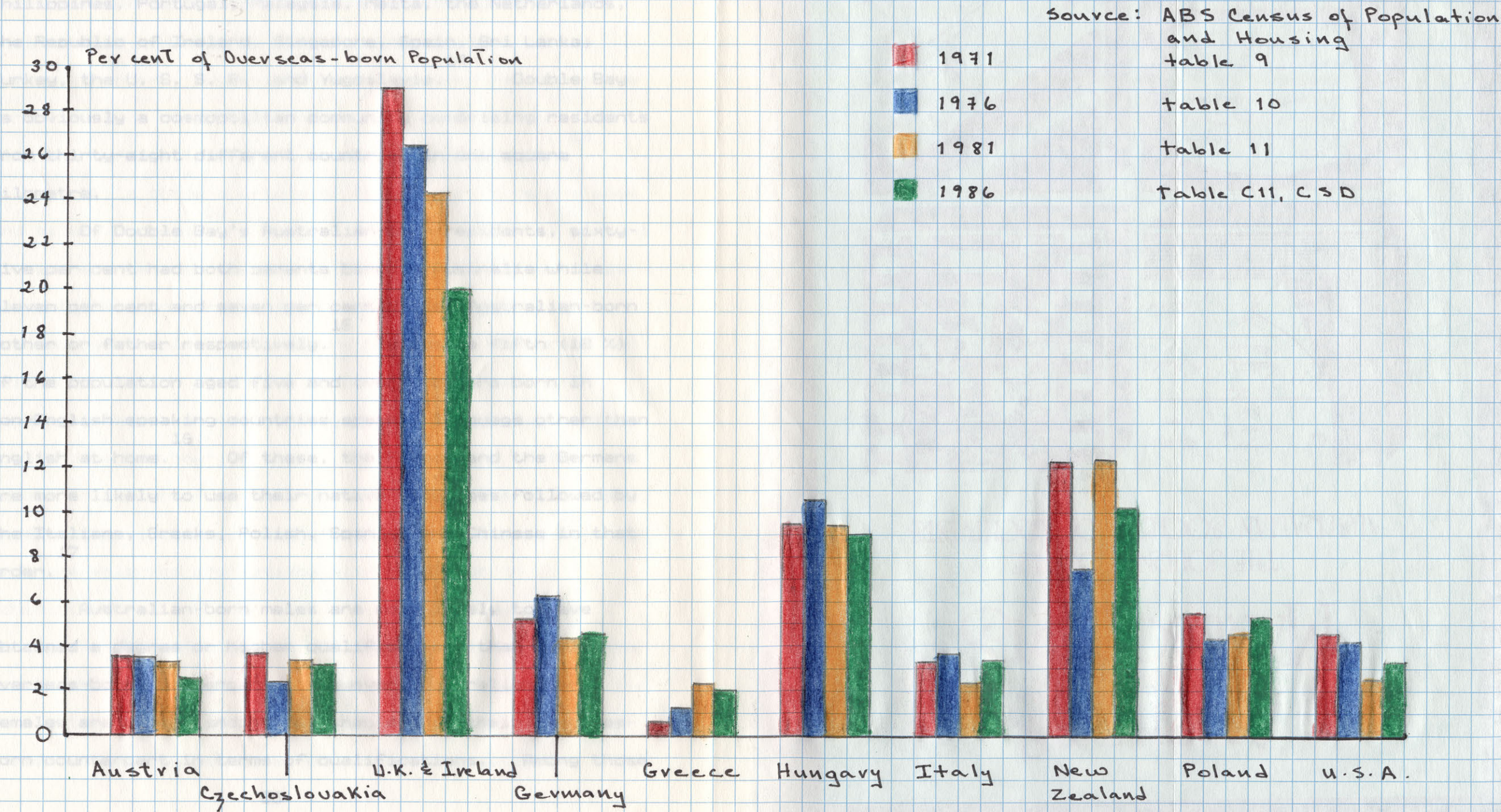
Australia
(excess over Double Bay)

Double Bay
(excess over Australia)

Source: ABS Census of Population & Housing, 1986, tables C11, CSD

N.B. Countries with frequencies less than 30 for Double Bay are included with 'others'.

FIGURE IV.6: Intercensal Change in Overseas-born Population, Double Bay



its composition. In addition to countries previously mentioned, other recorded countries of origin include Canada, Chile, China, Cyprus, Egypt, France, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Latvia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Portugal, Malaysia, Malta, the Netherlands, the Republic of Ireland, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Turkey, the U. S. S. R. and Yugoslavia.[14] Double Bay is obviously a cosmopolitan community comprising residents from thirty-eight different countries in one square kilometre.

Of Double Bay's Australian-born residents, sixty-five per cent had both parents born in Australia while eleven per cent and seven per cent had an Australian-born mother or father respectively.[15] Almost a fifth (18 %) of the population aged five and over who were born in non-English speaking countries speak a language other than English at home.[16] Of these, the French and the Germans are more likely to use their native languages followed by the Italians, Greeks, Polish, Spanish and Chinese in that order.[17]

Australian-born males are more likely to have obtained a degree or higher qualifications than their overseas-born counterpart. However, Australian-born females are almost indistinguishable from their overseas-born counterpart in terms of qualifications. Among those

with trade qualifications, a greater proportion of both males and females are overseas-born.[18] In terms of occupation, overseas-born residents are more likely to be managers and administrators with a quarter of the overseas-born labour force population occupying these positions as compared to only fourteen percent of the Australian-born. However, Australian-born residents are more likely to be professionals, para-professionals and clerical workers than the overseas-born population.[19]

While three-quarters of the labour force are wage and salary workers,[20] members of the traditional working class are under-represented in Double Bay. Only ten per cent of the labour force are classified as either tradespersons, plant and machine operators, labourers and related workers. Of these, forty-eight per cent are either employers or self-employed.[21] Double Bay is the home of the new bourgeoisie. Forty per cent of the labour force work for wages or salaries as clerks, sales, personal services or para-professionals. Twenty-nine per cent are salaried professionals, managers or administrators. Eleven per cent are professionals, managers and administrators who employ at least one other person while five percent are self-employed persons of the same category.[22] Both male and female Double Bay residents clearly occupy an advantageous position

vis-a-vis the rest of Australia in terms of employment.

Table IV.5: Major Occupational Groups of the Employed Labour Force

Occupation	Australia		Double Bay	
	Per cent	Sex Ratio	Per cent	Sex Ratio
Managers/ Administrators	11.7	301	17.8	242
Professionals	11.8	150	26.0	138
Para-professionals	6.5	134	5.2	63
Clerks	17.1	36	17.8	25
Sales/Personal Services	12.4	65	19.6	66
Tradespersons	15.3	935	5.2	321
Plant/machine operators	8.2	526	1.5	580
Labourers/related workers	14.4	184	3.8	207
Inad. described and N. E. I.	1.5	-	2.0	-
Total (incl. NS)	100.0	154	100.0	102

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1986 Table C34, Format CSC

Relative to Australia, Double Bay's residents are highly educated. Seventeen per cent of the population over fourteen years of age have obtained a degree or higher in comparison to five per cent for Australia.[23]

Furthermore, the proportion of Double Bay residents attending tertiary institutions is almost twice as much as for Australia as a whole. Table IV.6 shows the figures for Double Bay and Australia.

Table IV.6: Attendance at Tertiary Institutions

Type of Institution	Australia (%)	Australia Sex Ratio	Double Bay (%)	Double Bay Sex Ratio
TAFE	43.4	135	24.3	95
CAE	19.2	87	14.4	56
University	26.5	116	49.1	93
Other	10.9	94	12.1	68
Total	100.0		100.0	
As per cent of total in educational institutions:	18.8	115	36.6	84

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1986
Table C20, Format CSC

The above table shows that almost half of Double Bay students attending tertiary institutions are in university which is almost twice the proportion for Australia. Another interesting observation is the preponderance of females at all types of tertiary institutions for Double Bay. While Double Bay females have better educational opportunities than Australian females in general, the low sex ratio is primarily indicative of the low sex ratio

which operates in Double Bay as a whole. The proportion of males attending university and TAFE are still higher than females when compared to the sex ratio for all students in tertiary institutions as well as for the entire population of Double Bay.

While Double Bay residents are much better placed than Australians in general in terms of income, education and occupation, they do not fare much better than the average Australian in terms of housing. Double Bay exhibits the characteristics of an average residential community in that seventy per cent of its dwellings have either two or three bedrooms.[24] On the other hand, Table IV.7 shows that Double Bay residences tend to be smaller than the Australian average.

Table IV.7: Number of Bedrooms Per Household for Australia and Double Bay

Number of Bedrooms	Percentage distribution	
	Australia	Double Bay
None	0.0	---
One	5.7	11.6
Two	26.0	48.9
Three	50.8	23.0
Four or more	15.0	11.1
TOTAL (includes NS)	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1986
Table C39, Format CSC

Moreover, real estate prices in Double Bay is nowhere near the Sydney average of $129,300. The average price of a two bedroom house in Double Bay is $400,000. A three bedroom house costs $650,000 while one and two bedroom units go for $140,000 and $215,000 respectively. In nearby Bondi Junction, the average prices for two and three bedroom houses are $230,000 and $330,000 respectively.[25] Monthly mortgage payments and weekly rents are also much higher than Australia. Forty-three per cent of Double Bay residents who are in the process of purchasing their dwellings pay $600 or more a month in mortgage rates compared to only sixteen per cent for Australia.[26] Furthermore, forty one percent of the population occupying rented dwellings pay over $150 a week compared to only six per cent for Australia in general.[27]

Home ownership in Double Bay is also lower than the national figure as shown in Table IV.8 on page 92 where a much larger proportion of the population live in rented accommodation. Three-fifths of the residences which are outrightly owned belong to family households while thirty-six per cent belong to lone person households.[28] However, Table IV.9 shows that lone person households have a higher proportion of home ownership than family households. On the other hand, nearly four-fifths of group households are in rented accomodation.

Table IV.8: Nature of Occupancy

Nature of Occupancy	Percentage Distribution	
	Australia	Double Bay
Owned	38.2	35.8
Being purchased	30.9	19.1
Rented	25.7	37.2
Other & NS	5.1	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1986, Table C38, Format CSC (figures excludes caravans)

Table IV.9: Nature of Occupancy by Household Type: Double Bay, 1986

Nature of Occupancy	Household Type					
	Family		Group		Lone Person	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Owned	446	40.6	27	11.1	272	42.1
Being Purchased	210	19.1	17	7.0	61	9.4
Rented	337	30.7	193	79.1	246	38.1
Other & NS	104	9.5	7	2.9	67	10.4
Total	1097	100.0	244	100.0	646	100.0

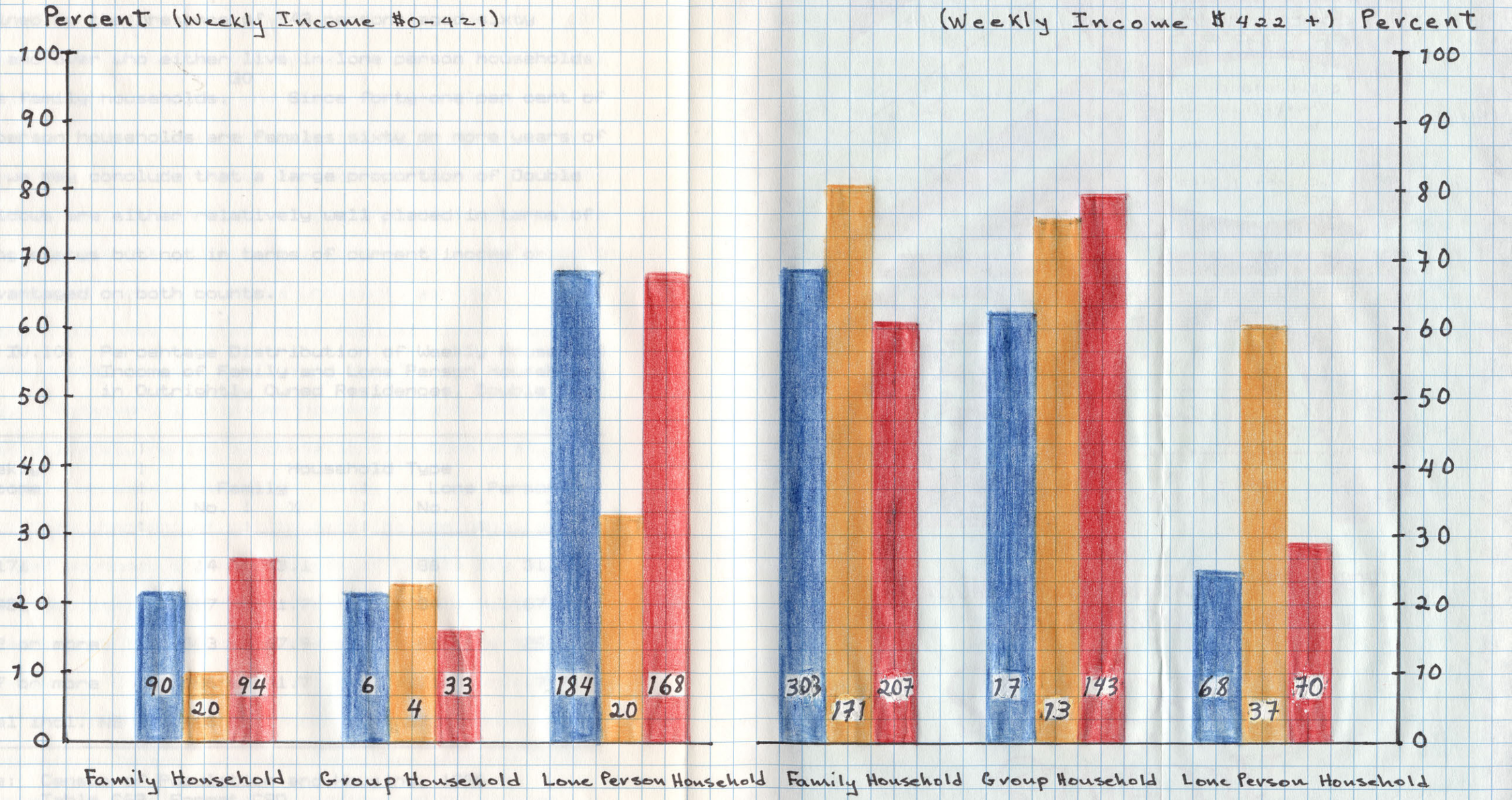
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1986 Table C62, Format CSD

An interesting feature of home-ownership in Double Bay is that while relatively high income families own their

residences, current income is not necessarily relevant to home ownership among lone person households. Thirty-two per cent of lone person households who own their own homes have a weekly income of $0 - 172. This compares to three per cent of family households with the same family income. Moreover, sixty-eight per cent of lone person households who own their homes have an income of less than $422 a week while sixty-eight percent of families who own their homes have an income of $422 or more a week.[29] Figure IV.7 highlights these differences in graphic detail. Considering the large proportion of people sixty years and above and the high incidence of widowhood, it would not be inconceivable to assume that we are confronted with the phenomenon of housing classes which operates quite separately from current income but nevertheless interacts with it. Table IV.10, on the following page, highlights this observation.

This observation is enhanced by referring back to Figure IV.7 and analyzing both the percentage distribution of nature of occupancy by income as well as the frequency distribution of household type by income and nature of occupancy. Among family households with incomes of more than $421 a week, there is an escalating distribution between home being purchased, private rental and home ownership. Family households who earn less than $422 a

Figure IV.7: Household type By Nature of Occupancy of Double Bay Households With a Weekly Income of $0-421 or $422 and Above, 1986



Legend: N Owned; N Being purchased; N Rented } Nature of Occupancy; N refers To number of households in each category.

Source: ABS Census of Population & Housing, 1986, table C62, Format CSD

week share the same characteristics as lone person households in the same income group. They are mostly owners or renters, a large proportion of which may be explained by the presence of 943 persons aged sixty years and over who either live in lone person households or one family households.[30] Since forty-one per cent of lone person households are females sixty or more years of age[31] we may conclude that a large proportion of Double Bay widows are either relatively well placed in terms of housing status but not in terms of current income or disadvantaged on both counts.

Table IV.10: Percentage Distribution of Weekly Household Income of Family and Lone Person Households in Outrightly Owned Residences, Double Bay

Weekly Income	Household Type			
	Family		Lone Person	
	No.	%	No.	%
$0-171	14	3.1	86	31.6
$0-421	97	21.7	184	67.6
$422 or more	303	67.9	68	25.0
$767 or more	186	41.7	21	7.7
Total incl. NS	446		272	

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1986
Table C62, Format CSD

On the other hand, younger families must have a relatively high level of current income in order to live in Double Bay. The same phenomenon applies to single people who must generally live in group households. It is quite clear that real estate value acts as a selective mechanism which determine who may or may not live in Double Bay. Newcomers must have a high level of current income. On the other hand, residents with high current incomes who settled in Double Bay when real estate prices were lower have the additional advantage of an increase in their personal wealth. Those who own their own residences but have to live under reduced circumstances have the option to sell out and live in a less expensive suburb. Moreover, low income households who choose to live in privately rented accomodations in Double Bay must have highly personal reasons for doing so.

This chapter set out to describe the demographic, social and economic characteristics of Double Bay in order to highlight its growth from a village into a multi-cultural suburb in the post-war expansion of the 1940's and fifties. Unlike other multicultural communities in Sydney, the 'ethnic' label is not applied to Double Bay. The Population Census Ethnicity Committee confirms that the concept of ethnicity is not understood by a large proportion of the population. Furthermore, respondents

to pilot studies who felt they understood the concept gave a wide range of meaning, a large proportion of which elicited 'strong and deep-felt views ...'.[32] It may be the case that the semantic boundary which separates the common and non-theoretical usage of 'ethnic' from 'cosmopolitan' in reference to individuals and groups within a community and the wider society is the wide discrepancy in the economic, educational and occupational status of the 'labelled' and 'labelling' groups. Double Bay's growth from a respectable, ethnically homogenous working class community to a suburb made up of ethnically differentiated and educated professional/managerial types has not created a great deal of economic imbalance within the community. This is mainly due to the fact that low income residents are not necessarily worse off than high income residents. The spending capacity of the villagers is equalized by nature of occupancy. The younger, highly educated professionals, administrators and managers often have extremely high mortgage or rental payments to meet. Those with children have the added burden of private school fees as a necessary part of their lifestyle. Working mothers have the additional expense of child care. Furthermore, high real estate values virtually screen out newcomers without capital and/or high credit ratings. When viewed as an aggregate, Double Bay is classified as

an upper class suburb of Sydney. However, the material level of existence of residents who are disadvantaged in terms of economic, migration and housing classes may not be very different from people living in less expensive areas. They remain in Double Bay in order to stay close to family and friends who make up their community.

NOTES:

1. ABS 1986, op. cit., Postcode 2028, Format CSC, Table C01.

2. Ibid., Australia, Format CSC, Table C01.

3. Ibid., Postcode 2028, Format CSC, Table C01.

4. Ibid., Table C08.

5. Ibid., Table C02.

6. Ibid., Format CSD, Table C10.

7. Ibid., Format CSC, Table C25.

8. Ibid., Table C24.

9. Ibid., Table C13.

10. Ibid., Table C17.

11. Ibid., Table C14.

12. Castles, Ian, Census of Population and Housing, 30 June 1986 - Australia in Profile, A Summary of Major Findings, ABS Catalogue No. 2502.0

13. ABS 1986, op. cit., Australia and Postcode 2028, Format CSC, Table C08.

14. Ibid., Postcode 2028, Format CSC, Table C08.

15. Ibid., Table C12.

16. Ibid., Tables C03, C11.

17. Ibid., Format CSC, Table C11; Format CSD, Table C18.

18. Ibid., Format CSD, Table C12.

19. Ibid., Format CSC, Table C31.

20. Ibid., Table C25.

21. Ibid., Table C34.

22. Ibid., Table C34.

23. Ibid., Australia and Postcode 2028, Format CSC, Table C21.

24. Ibid., Postcode 2028, Format CSC, Table C39.

25. As of April 1988, Sydney Morning Herald, 3 May 1988.

26. ABS 1986, op. cit., Australia and Postcode 2028, Format CSC, Table C43.

27. Ibid., Table C44.

28. Ibid., Postcode 2028, Format CSD, Table C62.

29. Ibid., Table C62.

30. Ibid., Format CSC, Table C41.

31. Ibid., Table C09.

32. Population Census Ethnicity Committee, 1986, Report to the Australian Statistician: The Measurement of Ethnicity in the Australian Census of Population and Housing. Australian Bureau of Statistics, Catalogue No. 2172.0, April 1984.

CHAPTER V

MONEY AS A SYSTEM OF VALUE

The preceding chapters described the historical and social character of Double Bay. This chapter investigates its contemporary cultural ethos by drawing on theoretical concepts from Simmel, particularly the clues he provided in the understanding of modern society in his book The Philosophy of Money. Simmel's approach is built upon recognizing the centrality of exchange in complex modern societies and more specifically the consequences of money providing the form and medium of that exchange. It is conceivable that the insights drawn from Simmel's approach would apply anywhere in the modern world. However, Simmel's approach is particularly applicable to Double Bay given its high socio-economic status and affluence, its cosmopolitan aspirations and pretensions and the great importance in the fashionable Double Bay lifestyle of what Veblen referred to as 'conspicuous consumption'. In Double Bay, more than in most places, money is the key, the leitmotif and the basis of sociability.[1]

The social structure of a community is formed through the reproduction of values and manner of living from one generation to another. Some values last for one generation, discarded by the next and do not become part

of a common tradition. Others survive through several changes of generational actors and become institutions. They inhere in the minds of individuals as culturally reproduced habits of thoughts and action. Children of a particular class and culture learn societal codes which ease their transition from childhood to adulthood. Rules of interaction are assimilated early and become a natural part of their repertoire of actions. During periods of relative prosperity, these habits of thought and action assure them of their proper place in society. During periods of rapid change and disorganization, these habits may actually prevent them from adjusting to the changes taking place around them.

The past two hundred years have been a period of modernization. It has been characterized by rapid change and the development of a form of social stratification which is based on class, religion and ethnic group. By the 1940's, education became an important factor in social stratification.[2] The development of paid employment which required intellectual skills enabled a new group of people to obtain social and economic ascendancy. Today, members of this group are called 'yuppies'.

The term 'yuppie' is today's euphemism for Marx's bourgeoisie and yesterday's noveau riche. They have attracted the envy and the anger of the less endowed and

the contempt of the well-established. Yuppies are found close to the City and congregate around the centre of action. They move into a suburb after it has been 'gentrified' by artists and intellectuals. Artists and intellectuals may become yuppies but yuppies do not breed yuppies. Having babies compete with acquiring consumer durables. Their upkeep is too time consuming and expensive. Pets are more manageable. Yuppies who procreate soon find themselves domesticated. They learn to give and to care. Soon their children bring them up and they acquire respectability.

Our current conception of money has been shaped by the interpretation of events corresponding to our society's accumulated historical interpretation of monetary value. The ancient Greeks thought of money's association with the calculability of the future as a form of hubris; blasphemous thoughts that would provoke the anger of the gods.[3] Religious antipathy to money stems from the perceived psychological competition between God and Mammon as the highest entity which unites all the diversities and contradictions in the world.[4] Money is easily interpreted as a first cause and final purpose which would dislodge God's place in the souls of man. It is not surprising to note that in modern society, money has virtually replaced religion as the object of power.

Like religion in medieval ages, money has become the repository of both human excesses and virtues. Money has become an object of desire for itself rather than for what it can be exchanged for. The abstraction of money into a goal in itself is exemplified in the money market where currencies are bought and sold for a profit. However, persistent notions of money as the root of all evil permeate individual consciousness and result in a society in which money is both valued and abhorred. A sociological study of money as a system of value must begin with a perception of money as a neutral object. Only by stripping money of the human characteristics of greed, power, decadence and other reified attributes may we be able to reduce it to its primary purpose as a medium of exchange.

The monetary equivalent of an object is fixed under specific historical and technical conditions mitigated by the force of individual circumstances. Money is a symbol based on trust and represents an individual's claim to his community.[5] In a community whose preoccupation rests on consumption, money retains its relative significance. This is because the object with which money is exchanged and valued is directly consumed. Therefore, an object valued for its utility increases its value at a realistic rate. However,

complex societies value an object both for its utility as

well as for its exchange value. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between objects purchased purely for consumption and objects which are purchased for their exchange value as well as objects which are bought for both consumption and exchange value.

Examples of this distinction abound. Stocks, bonds and other financial instruments are purchased for their exchange value. They are not ends in themselves but are intermediary instruments for obtaining more money. They are held for the amount of time necessary to realize a profit. The greater the velocity of exchange, the greater the monetary value of the financial instruments and the greater the risk that it may lose all value. Both skill and chance combine to realize profit as the end result. For some, the excitement of the market becomes an end in itself thereby making money a symbol of a wish fulfilled.

On the other hand, consumer durables are purchased for their use value. Money exchanged for these objects is immediately realized as an object of value for one person involved in the exchange. These objects become ends in themselves in the satisfaction they give the purchaser in the possession of the desired object. The other party in the exchange stores value in money which

may be exchanged with another person for the object of his desire. Houses combine use value with exchange value. It is a common maxim in Sydney that waterfront houses or those with a view can never be over-capitalized. These houses are purchased for the pleasure they give their owners as well as for the profit yet to be realized. Unlike consumer durables, money exchanged for houses is both stored and consumed. Furthermore, houses purchased on mortgages are immediately available for consumption on the basis of faith in the purchasers' capacity to generate money as well as the continuous escalation of property values. The maintenance of this faith is only tenable in a community where the residents believe in the ability of the state to maintain order as well as the ability of the community to create boundaries which would exclude undesirable elements of society. The proportion of money invested in financial instruments vis-a-vis fixed investments is therefore a measure of society's faith in the stability of its environment, since it is the convertibility of financial instruments that makes them attractive in politically unstable societies.

The social structure in the Municipality of Woollahra is a complex one. It may be distinguished from the rest of Sydney on economic grounds. Within the community, economic distinctions are more difficult to

make. There are old wealthy families living in inherited houses as well as the newly rich in purchased or custom built houses. There are also members of the old middle and working classes who settled in the suburb when property values were low and are now sitting on prime residential real estate. There are pensioners struggling to keep up with municipal rates and the escalating cost of living but would never think of selling their houses and leaving their community to spend the rest of their lives as wealthy residents of the Western Suburbs. And then there are those who have no intention of ever owning their houses in Woollahra unencumbered by mortgages. They have faith in the continuous escalation of property values and purchase houses on mortgage for immediate consumption. It is their belief that profit gained on the property will enable them to obtain smaller houses within the municipality and/or in less expensive areas when there is a change in either life-cycle stage, preferences or financial conditions. Living in relative poverty in the area is a choice between community and money, since moving out immediately reduces one's cost of living.

Double Bay is the nucleus of Woollahra and it is here that one can observe the patterns of life in the community. It is a modern economy with an international outlook and orientation. However, it exemplifies the

ability of highly differentiated societies to handle both modernity and tradition as co-existing values. Double Bay shares a commonality with primitive societies in that it is organized towards consumption rather than production. The local economy is oriented towards the provision of specialist service to the residents of Woollahra. Whatever production is carried on in the village is traditional in that the producer not only owns the means of production but also in that the objects produced are not alienated from the producers' personality. Each object crafted is a special creation which expresses the individual talent and creativity of the producer. Furthermore, most of the objects created are made specifically with a definite consumer in mind. Both producer and consumer relate to each other with a complementarity of purpose and engage in the face-to-face relationship prevalent in traditional societies. Even when objects are not produced for specific clients, most boutique operators purchase garments with specific clients in mind. It is not uncommon for a proprietress in Double Bay to ring up clients to inform them that several outfits have just arrived and have been put aside for their perusal.

In the beauty salons of Double Bay, the preferences of the clientele in terms of style and

products are remembered. Sometimes, a written file is kept. Customers are free to determine the role relationship desired with the women who take care of their bodies. They could remain distant and bury their faces in a book, a magazine or a distant look. However, they may also worry the beauticians with the most minute and tedious details of their lives. Oftentimes, these relationships develop into friendships.

Restaurant staff are friendly and unharried, reflecting the leisurely style of village life wherein patrons are welcome to sit and linger over coffee. Rapid turnovers may produce more income, but in the long run, restaurateurs realize that a steady patronage is more beneficial. In most of the establishments in Double Bay, one will find that the merchant-client relationship is a pleasant one. The negative aspects of the superordination/subordination relationship between 'served' and 'server' are absent as the economic relationships of individuals are completely separate from their personal honour and dignity.

It is not uncommon to find tradesmen, taxi-drivers and shopkeepers living in Double Bay, Bellevue Hill, Rose Bay and Vaucluse in close proximity to their clients. Hence, service is not only prompt but also creates a bond which enables professionals to find common interests with

the corner grocer or the bottle shop operator. Their children share the same public and private schools which enable them to cross boundaries which usually exists between trade, mental and physical labour. Casual chats may lead to discussions about golf, boats or horses and provide the foundation for a feeling of community.

Money serves as the thread which weaves disparate symbols into a system of values which constitute the cultural framework of Double Bay. Like a piece of thread, it can be divided into units and measured. However, a piece of thread can also come in many shapes and colours and once woven together, it is difficult to extricate one piece from another or to determine the exact contribution of a particular thread or colour in a piece of cloth. In the same manner, the meaning different individuals and groups attribute to money become inextricably bound to their specific culture. The orientation of the community to money as a necessary part of human existence enables groups and individuals of different cultural, religious and professional characteristics to possess the option of relating to one another on a purely economic basis or to extend this relationship to a higher level. Money not only serves to facilitate the velocity of economic exchange but serves as the foundation for the mutual interpenetration of

cultures.

Double Bay is the heart of Woollahra. It is the place the residents of Woollahra has defined as their village. In Double Bay, the patterns of life within the Municipality of Woollahra are replayed to perfection. Both day-to-day patterns of living and the high drama of life can be observed in the village. In the shopping centre, one finds the clues to the system of values that unite the highly differentiated groups and individuals who make up society. It is where people test out roles and relationships. It is where individuals find the clues to social acceptance. In shopping, skills and taste acquired from the family unit and schools are utilized and portrayed. Decisions abound. Given a limited amount of money, which shops should one patronize? The self-assured do not consider this an issue. One needs money to buy but not to look. Dressed properly, one can expect the appropriate service from shopkeepers without having to purchase anything. A person can walk into the most expensive shops and try out the latest fashions, smile and walk away. Knowledge gained of what is fashionable can be used at a less expensive establishment.

Someone with both money and style will purchase what is appropriate to her personality. A person who only possesses money will purchase what is fashionable.

But even a person with the most atrocious taste can make a suitable purchase, if, realizing her lack of taste, she allows the shopkeeper to help her choose. Good service is rewarded by repeat customers which is the only way expensive shops survive. It reduces the amount of inventory carried when one knows what the clients want. In Double Bay, money is valued not only for its ability to be exchanged for other values; the appearance of having money is itself a tradeable asset which can be utilized to demand service. Role relationships between shopkeepers and customers are kept separate from personal relationships unless these overlap. Regular customers are served first. A stranger is judged according to the shopkeeper's evaluation of the stranger's purchasing ability.

Most residents of Woollahra see Double Bay as their village. This is where they meet their friends. The luncheon ritual cuts across both gender and age groups. Walk down Cross and Knox Streets any day and you will see clusters of people having lunch together. Some are local businessmen getting together to discuss a deal or just to keep in touch with the market. Some are school leavers from both the public and exclusive schools in the area. They work in restaurants, boutiques and beauty shops to pay for clothes and restaurant meals, save

money for trips abroad and wait for the right person to marry. Sometimes, matriarchs eye the pretty girls who do their hair and choose their clothes. They insist their sons would be the perfect man. The youths do meet but perhaps mother-in-law-to-be was too optimistic. After the dinner, the dance and the short romance, they go their separate ways.

Society women do lunch in Double Bay. They come from all over Sydney to feast at the Bay. But they do not go there to see their friends. Friendly lunches are usually held in the privacy of their homes or their boats. They lunch in Double Bay to be seen. In Double Bay, they wear the latest fashions; parking expensive cars on the kerb where these may be admired; sitting by tables on the terrace at Donini's where shoppers may stop by to greet them. They stand to kiss each other, touching cheeks to prevent lipsticks from spoiling beautifully made faces; kissing friends and foes alike --- always kissing --- making a ritual of what was once a meaningful exchange of feelings. People lunch in Double Bay to watch as well, to see the latest fashion on women who get their clothes from the expensive boutiques in Transvaal Avenue, Knox and Bay Streets. They sit at the Cosmopolitan Cafe pretending to talk to each other. But their eyes are across the road or on the street, trying to spot a

personality, a beautiful face or a gorgeous dress.

Widows are perhaps the most regular lunchers in Double Bay. They sit in cafes with their friends, extending the lunch hour into the afternoon; stretching time that would otherwise be spent alone in the little cottages or units they inhabit on their own. They talk about days gone by when Double Bay was a real village. Some talk about the old country like some fairy-land taken over by trolls. They talk in soliloquies, not really conversing but somehow understanding each other; warmth and comradeship shining from their faces. They linger at the Cosmopolitan Centre, first visiting the butcher for the dinner they will eat alone. He senses their loneliness and chats with them while keeping an eye out for young wives who make larger purchases. They wander off to the fruit shop to pick a perfect peach, discriminating women who know exactly what they want. They say good-bye to each other with ease, knowing that tomorrow will be spent the same way again, anticipating each day that comes and enjoying the choices still to be made. They do not kiss each other good-bye. Somehow, kissing is too personal.

The Cosmopolitan Cafe is also where people wait. Mothers chat and wait for their children to meet them after school. Wives wait for their husbands to take them

out to dinner after a day's work. Businessmen take their cellular phones and make calls between appointments. Expatriate wives seeking accommodation sit and read the newspaper between houses. Sometimes, lonely people just sit and wait for someone they know to come and say hello. And then there are those for whom waiting has become a pastime. They sit and wait for the changing scene to provide them constant entertainment.

By three o'clock, uniformed children from the Double Bay Public School run up to mothers who come by foot or by car to collect them. The older ones walk home or take the bus. They do not linger by the park. They have homework and chores to do when they get home. A few stop in front of shops, discuss the merchandise with friends and take the long way home. It is almost four and streams of buses disgorge school children in front of Woolworths. Uniformed children from the private schools change buses in Double Bay for Bellevue Hill or stop by their parents' shops for a chat, to help around or cadge a lift home. It is a twenty-minute wait for the Bellevue Hill bus --- enough time for an ice-cream cone from Norgen Vaaz, a chat with friends they spent the whole day with and ring as soon as they get home. Sometimes, they take a chance of missing the bus, making a mad dash for French Riviera and its rich, creamy home-made ice cream by the

French couple. On Mother's Day, the Double Bay Chamber of Commerce took photographs of the children as a goodwill gesture. The children take them home in a cardboard folder with the Double Bay Chamber of Commerce emblazoned across the cover. The mothers look at the pictures and smile. Somehow, their little angels do not look their best after a day spent in school.

The sun begins to fade across the bay and shops start to close for the evening. Most shopkeepers hurry home to their families. Others claim Double Bay from the tourists, the day-trippers and the rich residents of Woollahra. Donini's olientele changes from the socialites of the lunch hour to family types: a mother with her young daughter. Perhaps the father is away or gone forever. She wants to talk and lingers over her meal conversing with the waiters who never seem to be pressed for time in a crowded restaurant. Two young women are dining together with their backs to the wall, blowing nicotine into each other's lungs. They talk listlessly about the day's work and look as if they would welcome some company. Three young men walk in and sit at a nearby table. They are not interested in the women; they have come to talk about stocks and bonds. Two men walk in and choose a corner table. They are not interested in the women either. They sit and gaze at

each other discreetly. They have not come to flaunt their relationship but only to dine as other couples do. In other tables, families talk to each other; happy families oblivious to the loneliness around them. Donini's is also the scene of high drama. It was where hired killers tried to discharge a contract on a businessman. They failed to get him at Donini's but eventually gunned him down at Pronto's Restaurant next door. A yellow Rolls Royce was spotted driving away from the scene --- circumstantial evidence which provides the excitement of village gossips. The restaurant closed soon after. It is now part of the demolition site for the Ritz-Carlton Hotel.

In Knox Street, a red Mercedes 560 parks in front of the Cosmopolitan Cafe. A nuclear family dressed in shorts jump out for a stroll and some pizza. Father notices a white Lamborghini with its top down three cars away. They stop to admire and examine the car unselfconsciously. The car was left open to be admired as an object of beauty. It is doubtless insured and the owner is afraid of neither thieves nor vandals. A Rolls Royce stands unattended. Nobody stops to admire it. It is a car seldom associated as an extension of the driver's personality.

Double Bay glitters at night. During the week,

few people walk around the streets. Shop windows are lit and exude an air of unreality. Tomorrow, this shop may be closed. Another business failure, unable to straddle the thin line between service and profitability. Tonight, it is part of the streetscape, enticing one to enjoy its merchandise. Steyne Park is deserted save for couples who do not wish to be noticed. Across the bay, Point Piper and Darling Point stand out majestically, forcing the eyes to look across the bay and take note of their dominance, reminding one that Double Bay stands beneath the shadows of the hills.

On Saturday nights, the Bay is full of people. Most are very young --- high school students with their friends for a movie at the Village Theatre. Groups of girls cluster together. Sometimes they meet with boys they know. There is nowhere to go after the movie. They are too young for the pubs. They have ice cream and hamburgers. The bolder ones go to the pubs and try to pass for eighteen. Old people stay home on Saturdays. The crush of the crowd is too much for them. They no longer feel safe in their village on Saturday nights. Before the fringe benefits tax, business associates took their wives to Eliza's for a friendly business dinner. There are less of them now. The restaurant suffers from lack of clientele as people drift off to the better-rated

restaurants in Paddington or the less expensive local ones.

By eleven, young couples spill out of The Oak and the Golden Sheaf hotels. It is close to curfew and they must get home. They do not want to go home and linger on the street, holding hands and gazing at each other; exchanging uncalculated emotions only young people can feel. There is trust in their eyes and there is oneness. Perhaps, next week they will no longer be in love. But tonight, they are immersed in the moment and there are no bitter memories of past relationships to make them doubt their present emotions. Confident children of loving parents who are not afraid to give, they open up their hearts carelessly to share their dreams.

Those who are not so lucky hide furtively in the shadows of the Steyne, drinking to forget and ease the pain, sharing needles by the toilet on the park. These are the children for whom money had been a substitute for parental love and attention; the pressure of school too great because parents expected too much, too soon. Parents who struggled to the top and having got there on their own expected their children to do better. Not realizing that their children are softer because they too are part of their environment just as they were strong because they were part of theirs.

At George's Restaurant, graziers' families go for their family dinner. They keep a flat in Double Bay to stay in when they come down to shop, attend yearling sales and bloodstock awards galas as well as visit the children in boarding schools around the area. It is a treat. Coming down is always a treat. Graziers' families work hard at the property. The women exude the self-confidence of people who know their skills are needed and appreciated. Even children know their little tasks around the property are important. They come to the city to rest and exchange their labour stored in money for goods and services they desire.

They may come to the city to catch up with family in distant properties; with friends they knew as children in boarding schools. However, they come primarily for the children. They sit and talk about whose friends may come down for the holidays. City children love the country. They love the daily round of chores --- feeding the chooks, milking the cow and mustering the sheep. Day children and boarders work out a system of exchange. They know the rules and play by the rules. They are delightful and charming with each other's parents. Doubtless, this skill will prepare them for future success in the world of business and government. 'Strategic actions' learned intuitively and early become a

comfortable feature of their repertoire of actions. With their own parents, they are themselves --- thereby relieving the strain of perfection.

The Royal Easter Show held yearly at the showground is a big social event. Woollahra youths plunge into it like a pagan rite. Unlike children from other parts of Sydney who may go once or twice a season, they convene at the showground every night. It is a familiar place for most of them. It is the starting point for horse rides around Centennial Park during the rest of the year. It is when country boys show off their skills. They strut around wearing jodphurs and Drizabones. City girls like to wear Drizabones as well but their country friends do not want to look country in the city. They are talked out of wearing their Drizabones. They walk around in groups, attacking show bags for the surprise; discarding plastic tokens as soon as they're unwrapped. They never stop to think their show bags could have fed a Redfern family next door. They do not think of poverty. For them, poverty is somewhere distant like Ethiopia.

The more mature fifteen year old sniffs and says: "I am too old for show bags!" The rest are annoyed and ignore her. They go on rides and scream with glee; enjoying their childhood, not quite ready to grow up.

Later, during the night, the girls and boys look at each other. One by one, they cross the field and form small groups of both genders. They talk; quietly at first. Soon they are friends and more relaxed. Late in the evening, they sit on the grass, singing at the top of their voices while watching the fireworks; another Easter Show, another set of friends, another year gone into the past.

During summer, they meet in Nielsen Park, Parsley Bay or Camp Cove for a picnic. These days young girls do not have male friends calling at their homes. It is simply not done. It would mean you were serious. Nobody is serious. They are just testing out relationships, getting to know each other without grown-ups peering over their shoulders, without parents trying to protect them from the heartache of unrequited love or the first break-up. Their friends are there for that. They discuss their lives and those around them with the total lack of privacy once common among parents discussing their children. There is nothing that can shock them anymore. They, too, have heard it all before.

It is a generation of youths who take money for granted. Something that is simply there. Something they know they will have to work for later on in order to maintain their current lifestyle. But, unlike people who

have never had it, they do not endow money with any special attributes. They know it will not buy them love or happiness. However, they are very much aware that money will buy them comfort and ease the lack of love or happiness in their lives. There is nothing harsh or cruel within them. They are just insensitive to other people's poverty and the pain and insecurities of others who are not within their circle of acquaintances. The loss of money could make them grasping. For now, they value money as an object: for its exchange value, for its ability to be stored and exchanged for future pleasures and for the opportunity it gives its possessors a chance to plan their lives.

The search for meaning is never over. It is not a search which starts with a negation of what is currently in place. Woollahra youths are not rebellious. They have the luxury of starting life from an advantageous niche in society. They have the friendliness which stems from not having experienced cruelty. The search for meaning begins with making choices. It starts by winnowing out the less meaningful from the more meaningful. It commences by utilizing money to liberate their inner selves from too much intrusion. It begins by realizing that economic values are not always consistent with personal values and that one's means of livelihood

may sometimes only be a way to gain the freedom to purchase other values.

Simmel managed to identify or distill something of the essence of the modern world from his vantage point at the famous intersection at Friedrichstrasse and Lepzigerstrasse in Berlin. It was from there that he came to understand the speed, the impersonality and the pragmatic character of modern life and the crucial role played by money in making that particular style of sociability not simply possible but actually unavoidable. Simmel's work, then, displays two seemingly contrasting but in fact closely interrelated characteristics. It is fundamentally analytical and theoretically informed, yet it also has the characteristics of what we may call 'sociological impressionism'. It is concerned with the surfaces and appearances of social life as much as with its depths. While Double Bay of the twentieth century differs greatly from Berlin of the late nineteenth, Simmel's ideas and analytic strategies remain appropriate. Money is central to social life not merely in the sense of the political economy of various interests which converge to contest and determine the direction of Double Bay's development, as will be discussed in Chapter VI. More fundamentally, as Simmel would recognize no less in Knox Street than he did at the Friedrichstrasse corner, money

is the basis of and provides the key to modern urban character, sociability and culture.[7]

NOTES:

1. Kessler, Clive S., personal communication, 2 March 1989.

2. Spearritt, op. cit., pp. 191 - 219.

3. Simmel, op. cit., p. 234.

4. Ibid., pp. 236 - 237.

5. Ibid., pp. 78 - 90.

6. Ibid., pp. 232 - 238.

7. Kessler, Clive S., personal communication, 2 March 1989.

CHAPTER VI: A CASE STUDY

THE DOUBLE BAY REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Double Bay and its residents not only have a past and present, they also see themselves as launched into a future whose nature, character, form and direction they themselves, partly through conflict and partly through consensus, must determine. This chapter considers recent debates regarding the direction of Double Bay's development with the nature of planning proposals and the material interests involved in them.

We construct reality by perceiving what exists as objects in space and relating these objects to images in our minds as varying permutations and combinations of objects in space and time.[1] We share reality by discussing the resulting interpretations of the arrangement of objects in time and space with others who are willing to listen and share their realities with us.[2] We fix our reality in time and space by imposing our will on the environment; by creating or destroying institutions and structures which do not conform to our images of what reality should be.[3] We create the future by selecting elements of the present to form the past which then provide the foundations to our future.[4]

On the other hand, reality creates us as objects

in time and space by locating us within a particular epoch, a particular place and a particular socio-economic group. We come into the world with part of our reality defined for us. We relate to the reality that is our family, our school and our community.[5] The future is created by structural conditions subject to probabilities of natural occurrences rearranging the structure. In other words, the future is produced through a critical evaluation of what is and what could be and by re-constructing the present within the constraints of the past.[6] In Double Bay, the future has begun.

The future of Double Bay is being shaped by events which occurred in the past and continue to occur in the present. This case study puts together various documents, media reports, casual interviews and personal observations at Council Meetings held in 1988. The case study takes as its starting point the Woollahra Local Environment Plan and the Double Bay Development Control Plan of 1985. The study analyses various amendments to the plan, events leading to these amendments and the interaction between residents, local business groups, the elected representatives, bureaucrats and big business within the boundaries of the community. The case study focuses on the ability of different members of the community to orient their actions and decisions toward

shared symbols which represent the essence of the aspirations of its members. Money and tradition have been abstracted by the community to the representation of Double Bay as an exclusive, cosmopolitan village.

The Double Bay Development Control Plan is a Municipal Council policy document adopted by the Woollahra Municipal Council on 2 December 1985 and came into force on 11 December 1985. It was meant to be used in conjunction with the Woollahra Local Environmental Plan No. 25 as amended in September 1985. These documents constitute a Local Government effort to set limits to the type and kind of development which would be encouraged and/or allowed within the nucleus of the village. The plan designates conservation areas, foreshore scenic protection areas and outlines height restrictions, building setbacks, floor space ratio and design standards for proposed developments in the shopping centre. The plan also provides for the future development of the Council Depot.

Woollahra Council has been often branded as 'anti-development' with most council members committed to the 'preservation of the amenities' of the area. Like most local councils, its relative power vis-a-vis State and Federal governments is negligible. Both Federal and State governments have made decisions regarding the

municipality without consultation and/or in total disregard for the opinion of the Municipal Council. Woollahra Council was unsuccessful in preventing the inclusion of Paddington within its boundaries in 1968 and was for a while threatened with the inclusion of Kings Cross and parts of the Centennial Park/Moore Park area in 1988.[7] The establishment of a management school in State owned land in Watson's Bay in 1988 was a State government decision while the approval of a new seaplane service in Rose Bay was a Federal government decision.[8] The Local Council, the Vaucluse Progress Association and concerned residents are still battling against the sale of Strickland House in Vaucluse.[9]

Parallel to the local council's subordinate political position vis-a-vis State and Federal governments is the inferior economic power of local business vis-a-vis national and/or international capital. 'Big business' has the economic capability of changing the entire character of a locality through a programme of demolition and development which focuses on cost-effectiveness as a criterion for site selection and capital injection. 'Big business' also has the capability to move on to more economically viable locations. On the other hand, local business is dependent on the individual members of the community as clients and patrons. Its economic survival

is inextricably bound to the prosperity of the community. Therefore, the Double Bay Development Control Plan may be viewed as an attempt by the Local Government, in conjunction with local business groups and residents of Double Bay, to prevent haphazard redevelopments within the community which result from society's conflicting desire for profit and nostalgia.

Inasmuch as Woollahra Council is responsible for the entire municipality, it has to spread its resources to serve different areas and different segments of the population with varying degrees of affluence. The 1988 income of the Municipality was $28,463,924. Over half of this income was generated from rates and garbage charges. On the other hand, only 35 per cent of the 1988 budget was spent for garbage collection and other environmental purposes. Almost thirty per cent was spent on roads, thirteen per cent on recreation, twelve per cent on land use and ten per cent on community services.[10]

Double Bay is only one of the shopping centres within the municipality and its image as an upmarket cosmopolitan centre was being threatened by the deterioration of its physical environment. The Double Bay Chamber of Commerce was convinced that a commitment from Woollahra Council for the redevelopment of the shopping centre was imperative for the survival of Double

Bay's image as the premiere shopping and social centre in Australia.

In 1987, the Council formed a Double Bay Sub-Committee headed by Alderman Susan Collett who was at the time also the mayor of Woollahra. Current members of the Sub-Committee are the Mayor (Alderman Elaine Cassidy), Alderman Collette, Alderman D. F. Hughes, Alderman David Joel, Alderman Beatrice Gray, the Municipal Engineer (Mr. Dennis Cafe), the Chief Health Surveyor (Mr. Harry Healey), and the Chief Town Planner (Mr. Greg Woodhams). Business is represented by Paul Carr, president of the Double Bay Chamber of Commerce, Mr. R. Moore, Mr. C. Monkhouse, Mr. D. O'Brien and Mr. Herman D. Scarf. Aldermen and council staff were appointed by Council while business members were elected by the Double Bay Chamber of Commerce.

The result of this cooperative effort is the Double Bay Beautification, Promotion and Maintenance Programme. It is a new approach in Australia where the government has always taken the lead in development and involves the contribution of financial resources by businesses and property owners who would benefit from the enhancement of the entire shopping centre. The Double Bay Beautification, Promotion and Maintenance Programme is an ambitious project undertaken by the local community.

Like all prototype projects, coordination problems sometimes seemed insurmountable. Local government officials did not always agree with business interests or with each other on the procedures and personnel utilized for the redevelopment. In most cases, consensus was obtained only after prolonged discussion. However, the desire of both government, business interests and residents in the community to improve their village and to retain control of decisions made for the community enabled all participants to redefine their positions in order to promote the collectively desired symbolisms of the village.

The Double Bay Beautification Scheme is not the first time that an effort to revitalize Double Bay has been envisaged. In the early sixties, both the Council and the Chamber of Commerce provided the initiative to attract business. The construction of the Cosmopolitan Hotel and Shopping Centre on Council-owned land became the lynchpin of the development and served to upgrade the image of Double Bay from an overgrown fishing village to an upmarket multi-cultural community. Council encouraged the alteration and extension of older buildings while maintaining their original facade. By the late sixties, Double Bay had become the specialty centre of Sydney when exclusive retailers abandoned the City and established

themselves in the area. By 1971 annual sales in the shopping centre amounted to approximately $25 million dollars with sixty-four per cent of the shoppers coming from a radius of one mile and nineteen per cent coming from a distance of over three miles. In the same year, Development Planning and Research Associates (DPRA) submitted the report for the Double Bay Centre Redevelopment Scheme which was commissioned by Council in 1969.[11]

Sydney had just embarked into the most frenzied building boom in its history which resulted from the conjuncture of three major phenomena: 1) family formation of the baby boom generation, 2) high migrant intake and, 3) the extreme liquidity of the international financial market due to the recycling of petrodollars. The property boom which occurred from 1968 to 1974 captured the imagination of both large and small investors who rushed for their share of the elusive profit with disastrous results.[12] The recession of the seventies slowed down development. Local businesses consolidated their position while over-extended companies scaled down operations or sold out. A major part of DPRA's recommendations was not acted upon. Nevertheless, Council implemented the establishment of the Cross Street carpark and the open carpark on Kiaora Lane. Cottages on

Transvaal Avenue were converted to boutiques and professional offices and the Redevelopment Control Code was incorporated into Council plans. Furthermore, monetary contributions as an alternative to car parking facilities in future developments became part of the Council's redevelopment code.

By the 1980's Double Bay saw the establishment of chain stores in the shopping centre. These were regarded by many as inimical to the image of Double Bay as an exclusive shopping area. Specialty centres in Mosman and Woollahra further threatened Double Bay's monopoly on status and quality. Furthermore, residents of neighbouring suburbs flocked to Bondi Junction for medium priced merchandise leaving middle-market businesses floundering. Exclusive boutiques retained their market niche and Double Bay became more expensive. Leading businessmen felt it was time for another consolidated effort to attract the appropriate businesses to Double Bay and further enhance its image as an exclusive cosmopolitan centre.

The Double Bay Lands Tasks Force composed of Aldermen Cassidy, Collette, Darling and Rofe, the Town Clerk, Deputy Town Clerk, Chief Town Planner, Municipal Engineer and Chief Building Surveyor presented their report to the Strategic and Corporate Committee of

Woollahra Council on 18 July 1988. Due to the sensitive nature of both the report and the decision which would emanate from the deliberations on the matter at hand, Council decided to receive the report in closed session. Alderman Hylda Rolfe retired from the meeting while the committee was in closed session thereby dissociating herself from any secret decisions. During the meeting, the committee took into account the Wellings Smith and Byrnes Study Report and the Chief Town Planner's Report to the committee of 15 February 1988. The draft amendments to the Double Bay Development Control Plan, as shown in Figures VI.1 and 2, were approved by the Committee subject to certain conditions. These were the reduction of the area covered by the plan as well as a revised height limit of thirty metres applicable to the Cosmopolitan Centre site, the rear portion of the Cross Street carpark as well as the rear of certain properties on New South Head Road extending to Kaiora Lane. Attention was also brought to increasing carparking facilities within the shopping centre, a suitable transition of land use between the residential zones along William street and the shopping centre and the pricing of the Council Depot for its future sale and relocation. These developments were to take into consideration the investigations being made by the

Double Bay Improvements Committee. The Double Bay

LEGEND:
1·5m BUILDING SETBACK FROM PROPERTY ALIGNMENT
2m BUILDING SETBACK FROM PROPERTY ALIGNMENT
3m BUILDING SETBACK FROM PROPERTY ALIGNMENT
2m COLONNADE FROM PROPERTY ALIGNMENT
3m COLONNADE FROM PROPERTY ALIGNMENT
DOUBLE BAY
DEVELOPMENT CONTROL PLAN
REQUIRED BUILDING SETBACKS MAP 2
PREPARED BY THE TOWN PLANNING DEPARTMENT FOR COUNCIL IN MARCH, 1985
N
SCALE: 1:2000
GUILFOYLE AVENUE
CROSS STREET
TRANSVAAL AVE.
CAR PARK
JAUBERTOU Stormwater
CROSS LANE
KNOX LANE
SOUTH AVE.
STREET
KNOX ST.
SHORT LANE
ROAD
HEAD
HENRIETTA LANE
BROOKLYN LANE
BAY
GUILFOYLE
COLEMAN LANE
SOUTH
KIAORA LANE
ANDERSON
KIAORA
ROAD
NEW
PATTERSON ST.
ST.

Figure VI.1

LEGEND:
HEIGHT AMENDED
30m
15m
30m
30m
GUILFOYLE AVENUE
CROSS STREET
TRANSVAAL AVE.
KNOX LANE
SOUTH AVE.
KNOX ST.
ROAD
HEAD
SOUTH
BAY
NEW
FIAORA
ANDERSON ST.
KIAORA ROAD
DOUBLE BAY DEVELOPMENT CONTROL PLAN
DEVELOPMENT CONTROL PLAN MAP 3
PREPARED BY THE TOWN PLANNING DEPARTMENT FOR COUNCIL
N

Figure VI.2

Development Plan was amended on 10 August 1988. The rationale for the amendments to the plan was to revitalize the commercial area by increasing height limits and floor space ratios while at the same time preserving the existing scale, village atmosphere and cosmopolitan character of Double Bay.[14] The Double Bay Development Control Plan became the blueprint for the future of the village.

In the meantime, the appointment of Kerry Fitzgerald as consultant liaison officer was authorized for a period of fifteen weeks at the Council meeting of 14 June 1988. His total fee for the period was not to exceed $15,000 and the continuation of his appointment after this period was to be supported from funds raised from the Double Bay area. Kerry Fitzgerald was originally appointed in August 1987 to assist in the fund raising and to serve as the communication link between Council, the Chamber of Commerce, property owners, retailers, business proprietors, shoppers and residents within the community. His brief was "to develop communication and mutual trust between all parties" and to mount a landscape exhibition. In December 1987, Council authorized the extension of Mr. Fitzgerald's appointment for a further three months when it agreed to match money raised by the Chamber of Commerce for the

beautification of Double Bay.[15] An Information Office was set up on rent free premises donated by property owners in Rodeo Plaza and later in No. 2 Transvaal Avenue.[16] Office furniture and equipment were likewise loaned by business interests. The proposed improvements were exhibited at Rodeo Plaza and public comments were elicited. Retail and promotional studies were carried out and the resulting information became the material for the brief to design consultants to carry out the desired transformation of the shopping centre. The brief required the consultants to prepare a plan which would build upon the charm and existing qualities of the village in order to create a shopping and social centre with an international character and style.[17]

Travis Partners was awarded by Council with the project consultancy after prolonged negotiations. While it is difficult to verify the real issues involved in the disagreement,[18] telephone interviews with the Municipal Engineer (Mr. Dennis Cafe), Alderman Beatrice Gray and the President of the Chamber of Commerce (Mr. Paul Carr) seem to indicate that Council staff had a pre-conceived idea on the consultant they wanted to work with on the Double Bay Beautification Scheme. On this basis, the selection process was weighted in favour of Travis Partners.

According to Alderman Gray, an unofficial sub-committee composed of some members of the Chamber of Commerce, some staff members and some aldermen agreed to leave it to staff members to choose the panel of interviewers who would decide on the consultant hired for the project. The initial contract was for $30,000 but it was expected that the total contract awarded would eventually reach $4 million. Mr. Cafe stated that the interviewing panel was made up of professional engineers, architects and landscapers. The panel interviewed six or eight consultants who responded to the brief required by Council. Council staff considered Travis Partners as having presented the proposal which was closest to the brief and who had the necessary skills, resources and manpower to accomplish the task involved. On the other hand, Alderman Gray felt that there were no clear criteria for selection. The original list included Conybeare Morrison and Partners who had worked with the State Government on the Macquarie Street beautification and the Circular Quay walkway. She was not familiar with the work of the other tendering consultants. However, in February, Council staff presented the aldermen with a short list of unknown entities in addition to Travis Partners. Conybeare Morrison and Partners was not on the shortlist. Council staff recommended Travis Partners but

the recommendation was challenged by Alderman Gray inasmuch as she felt that Council members were being forced to make a decision in favour of Travis Partners. On the strength of Alderman Gray's objections, both Travis Partners and Conybeare Morrison and Partners were requested to submit a proposal to the Sub-committee. Alderman Gray sat in on the deliberations although she had no vote on the matter. The Sub-Committee studied the merits of the submissions of Travis Partners as well as Conybeare Morrison and Partners on 10 March 1988. All but one member of the Sub-committee decided to award the contract to Conybeare Morrison and Partners on the basis of their presentation. However, on the twenty-third of March, Paul Carr penned a letter to Council reversing his decision and recommended Travis Partners instead of Conybeare Morrison and Partners. The Chamber of Commerce felt that the issue was an internal Council matter. While the Chamber of Commerce would have decided on Conybeare Morrison and Partners had the decision been theirs to make, a closer inspection of the two proposals indicated that there were minor differences between the abilities of the two consultants. After discussing the matter with the Council's engineering department, the Chamber of Commerce decided to support the staff's recommendation. Council Members eventually decided to

award the contract to Travis Partners in May, in order to to eliminate conflict and to effect a smooth implementation of the project.

The Master Plan for the landscaping of the Double Bay Commercial Centre prepared by Travis Partners was unanimously approved by the Double Bay Sub-Committee on 27 June and adopted by Council on 25 July 1988. This is available for display at the Double Bay Improvement Information Centre as the Project Entente Exhibition. The catchwords for the New Double Bay are 'PROGRESS, IMPROVEMENT, and CONTINUITY'.[19]

The improvement scheme for Double Bay was initially costed at approximately $2,381,625. Mr. Fitzgerald approached individual and business interests identified by the Chamber of Commerce and briefed them on the advantages of participating in the project. The commercial advantages of a coordinated landscaping programme as well as the tax deductibility of contributions were emphasized. Individuals were particularly interested in being assured that all funds raised in the community would be spent for 'maintenance, beautification and promotion works within Double Bay.' As of the twenty-first of July, the total pledges to the project was $371,000.[20]

In the August 8 meeting of Council, a Double Bay Maintenance, Beautification and Promotion Fund Raising

Committee composed of four members was organized. The members were the incumbent Mayor and Vice-mayor of Woollahra Council and the President and Vice President of the Double Bay Chamber of Commerce. An account was opened at the Double Bay Branch of the Westpac Bank under the management of the committee and operated under two signatures representing the private and public sector membership of the committee.[21]

The construction schedule for the programme is shown below:

1989 -	Phase I:	Bay Street	February to May
	Phase II:	Knox Street	July to November
1990 -	Phase III:	Cross Street	February to June
	Phase IV:	Transvaal Avenue and Goldman Lane	July to November
1991 -	Phase V:	New South Head Road Gumtree Lane and Short Street	February to August
	Phase VI:	Park and Bell Tower Square	September to November

Plants and trees continue to be an important part in the creation of a new image for Double Bay. Jacaranda trees will line Cross Street while Transvaal Avenue will have a Cypress gateway and clipped canopy trees. Washington Palms will provide a focal point on Kiaora Road and Bay Street with low hedges on the footpaths separating shoppers from the road. Bay Street will be lined with Chinese Elms while Knox Street will be lined with

Washingtonia Palms and evergreen trees. Guilfoyle Park will be provided with pergolas of climbing plants and Tristanias around a new sunken square.[22]

Revised cost estimate for the project increased to $2.8 million dollars and the Chamber of Commerce was requested to confirm its commitment of $1.2 million. Mr. Paul Carr confirmed its commitment and was confident of exceeding it. Council's total commitment was $800,000. Overall management and supervision will be undertaken by the Municipal Engineer on behalf of the Council. Mr. Fitzgerald's appointment as liaison officer was extended for another twelve months commencing 12 September 1988. His total fee would not exceed $54,000 and would be shared equally by Council, the Double Bay Chamber of Commerce and Travis Partners.[23]

The most sought-after redevelopment proposal for Double Bay is the site of the former Pronto's Restaurant at 29 - 43A Cross street. The proposed development is a project of 'big business' with the Property Realty Group Limited as owners and the Sahben Group of Companies as developers. It is envisioned by most of the residents, local businesses and Council members as the gem of the Double Bay redevelopment plan. Realty Property Private Limited filed its application for a six-storey building with two floors of underground parking area on 28 July

1988. The proposal included a ground floor level of shops and hotel lobby, a first floor level of function rooms, bars, restaurants and administration areas in addition to four floors of deluxe accommodation with one hundred thirty-seven rooms. On 17 October 1988, Woollahra Council's Building and Development Committee discussed the proposal which had previously been revised by the developer on the twenty-third of August to accommodate recommendations by Council staff to minimize
24
environmental effects. The proposed development was not only located in an area where the fifteen metres height limit applied but did not meet the requirement of Council Codes with regard to its parking facilities. The building plans provided for one hundred seventy-three spaces. Council codes require developments of this magnitude to provide for three hundred sixteen spaces making a shortfall of one hundred and forty-three spaces. Mr. Greg Woodhams, the Council Town Planner, argued that the cost of further excavations to comply with Council codes on parking spaces would be prohibitive in relation to the total project cost because of the level of the water table on this site. The applicant had submitted a traffic study which stated that peak parking demand for various services offered by the development varied at different times and days of the week. Therefore, a

simple summation of the parking required for each activity occurring concurrently did not reflect actual demand. Mr. Woodhams recommended for the approval of the proposal subject to the following conditions: 1) valet parking would be provided for visitors during the hotel's operating hours to facilitate access to the carpark; and 2) the Function Room on Level one would be used only after 5:00 p.m on Saturdays to insure sufficient on-site parking during retail hours. However, the committee decided to submit the proposal for full council discussion.[25] This issue would remain unresolved for several weeks as convenient parking facilities is considered to be one of the more desirable attractions of Double Bay vis-a-vis the city stores.

The full council met on 31 October and deliberated on the issue. Alderman Collette was adamant in having the proposal approved that night and chided the council for its attitude of 'horror' at anything larger than a house. Alderman Rolfe countered that it would be inappropriate for Council to make a decision until it had fully discussed the implications of the development as contained in twenty-one pieces of documents. Alderman Collette was interested in solving the parking problem through the provision of an extra thirty spaces through a leasehold arrangement between the Council and the

developer. Alderman Watson moved for an inspection committee. This was supported by Alderman Rigg who stated that the absence of Aldermen Gray, Rofe and King warranted a postponement of the decision. The matter was referred back to the Building and Development Committee.[26]

The Building and Development Committee deliberated on the matter on November 7 and failed to resolve the issue. Alderman Watson brought up the fact that the development proposal did not comply with six of the eight categories required by Council. These were site area, gross floor space ratio, floor space ratio, one boundary setback, overall height and car parking. While most of the other aldermen were willing to waive the other requirements in view of the utmost desirability of the project, a large number of aldermen considered the carparking problem of paramount importance. The development would generate 270 jobs and it was expected that job holders as well as clients needed to park somewhere. Aldermen Rofe stated that at least thirty-two more carparking spaces would be needed. The committee referred the issue to the full council meeting with the recommendation that an extra $1,500,000 or more be required from the developer as contribution for the shortfall in carparking spaces should the development be approved by council.[27]

The full council meeting on November 14 continued the debate on the carparking problem. Central to the debate were two figures identified as shortfalls to the carparking code. Alderman Gray's compromise computation put the shortfall at fifty car spaces which would involve an additional contribution from the developers of approximately half a million dollars. Alderman Rose Watson insisted on the original figure of one hundred forty-three car spaces which amounted to a contribution of one and a half million dollars. Alderman Joel was concerned with setting a precedent for other developers. Alderman Collette reminded the council that the car parking code was a guide rather than an absolute requirement.

Another unresolved issue was the Galbraith Walkway which would connect William Street to the hotel site and intended as a public thoroughfare. However, residents of Copperfields town houses petitioned that development consent be reversed as it was detrimental to their privacy. The public access to Galbraith Walkway was deleted from the plan on the 7 October deliberations of the Building and Development Committee. However, a petition with 504 signatures was delivered to Council requesting that the walkway be open to the public as a short cut for residents in Pearce, Stafford and William

Streets. Alderman Gray reminded the Council at the 31 October Council meeting of a compromise solution wherein a "solid, automatic double airlock, security door be provided which would be closed to the public between 6:00 p.m. and 8:00 a.m. Monday to Saturday and all day Sunday". In spite of technical differences, most of the aldermen agreed that the development was exactly the type of project they had been trying to attract to Double Bay. The development proposal was approved by a vote of eight to six. However, a resoission motion was lodged by Aldermen Rofe, Watson and Lemech at the end of the Council meeting. By now, the issue had been narrowed to financial considerations. The differences in opinion revolved around requiring the developer to contribute one and a half million dollars instead of the proposed half a million. The $45 million project stayed on the drawing board.[28]

Two weeks later, the rescission motion was defeated by Mayor Cassidy's deliberative vote in spite of Alderman Rofe's objection that the developers could well afford the amount and that reducing their contribution to a third of the ideal would lead to a precedent which would not remain unnoticed by other developers. He was referring to the Realty Property Group's other site in Kiaora Lane as well as the Cosmopolitan Hotel and the

council-owned carpark and depot between Cross Street and William Street. Those who voted for the rescission motion were Aldermen Dupree, Joel, Lemech, Rofe, Rolfe, Rigg and Watson. Those who voted against the rescission motion were Aldermen Carter, Cassidy, Darling, Gray, Hughes, King and Stenning. Alderman Darling interrupted
29
his holiday to cast his vote at the meeting.

The Council meeting ended with the usual invitation from the Mayor for members of the gallery to join them for refreshments. This time, representatives of the Sahben Group of companies had reason to celebrate. Mr. Paul Smith confirmed that the Ritz-Carlton Hotel group had signed up to run the hotel and that plans for a Harrods boutique were being finalized. The Ritz-Carlton group is internationally identified with an exclusive and cosmopolitan image as well as impeccable good taste. The hotel, which is expected to be ready by February 1991 would set a new standard for Double Bay. Double Bay will have a ballroom in the luxurious hotel which would be complemented with butler service in the hotel's guest rooms. The hotel will reflect the high level of quality and exclusivity of all the Ritz-Carlton hotels overseas characterized by antiques and paintings by eighteenth and
30
nineteenth century artists.

The Double Bay redevelopment scheme has already

began. The new year ushered in the turning of the ground. When the dust settles in three or four years' time, Double Bay will have achieved its dream of being the premiere shopping and social centre in Australia. The Ritz-Carlton hotel will take the leading role in promoting this image. Other projects on the drawing board include the redevelopment of the Realty Property Group's Kiaora Lane/New South Head Road property into a ten level development comprising a hotel, cinema, restaurants, taverns, supermarket, library and carparking for one thousand cars.[31] The Council Depot and carpark has been offered for sale by public tender and plans to redevelop the Cosmopolitan Hotel Complex have been discussed.

The collective desire of local businesses operating in Double Bay continues to shape its landscape. The project is supported by the local council, the business group and the four major residents' group. The Chamber of Commerce has already raised half of the $1.2 million it pledged for the Double Bay Beautification, Promotion and Maintenance Programme. Property owners have contributed enthusiastically with three-quarters of these owners giving twice the proportional amount requested as a share in the redevelopment. Construction is scheduled to coordinate with commercial construction and result in cost savings.[32]

The Double Bay redevelopment scheme is a local business community project. It is not a project imposed by either federal or state government. It is not a project contrived by international or national conglomerates. It is a project conceived by local businessmen who realize that their prosperity is interdependent with both the prosperity of the village and its residents. It is the realization of the collective desire for development of a community who see progress as a grafting of modernity to desirable elements of the past. The symbolisms of tradition, exclusivity and progress define the boundaries of Double Bay and provide the solidarity which aggregates varying and sometimes conflicting priorities of local government, business and residents into a common goal.

Double Bay is an introspective community which does not let go of the past until it has something better to take its place. It is a self-confident community willing to trust its instincts and each other. It is a realistic community wherein each segment is aware of the limits of its influence vis-a-vis other groups within the community as well as the larger society. It is a community made up of people who are capable of negotiating their demands in order to retain decisions made about the community within its boundaries. By negotiating varying

nuances of meanings attributed to money and tradition, the village was able to utilize national and international capital to help project the aspirations of the community for an exclusive cosmopolitan enclave. Consensus is a reality even if complete agreement within the community is an impossibility.

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3. Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology. C. J. Arthur (ed.), New York: International Publishers, 1970, p. 65.

4. Luhmann, Niklas, The Differentiation of Society. Translated by Stephen Holmes and Charles Larmore, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, pp. 74 - 75. See also Frisby, David, "Georg Simmel: First Sociologist of Modernity", Theory, Culture and Society, 2,iii (1984): 49 - 67, pp. 62 - 63.

5. Park, Robert Ezra, Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology. Illinois: The Free Press, 1952, pp. 16 - 17.

6. Luhmann, op. cit., pp. 88, 110, 120 - 121, 256.

7. See Jervis, op. cit., p. 182 regarding Mayor Calwell's statement on amalgamation. In the 11 July 1988 Woollahra Council Meeting, Premiere Greiner's news release of 10 July 1988 regarding the boundaries of the City of Sydney and South Sydney was greeted with relief by Council aldermen. See also 20 July 1988 issue of the Wentworth Courier, p. 3.

8. Observations at Council meetings. See also Wentworth Courier, 10 August 1988, p. 16.

9. Wentworth Courier, 9 November 1988, p. 6; The Eastern Herald, 1 December 1988, p. 2.

10. Woollahra Municipal Council, Annual Report to Residents, 1989, p.37.

11. Development Planning and Research Associates (DPR), Double Bay Centre Redevelopment Scheme: Summary Report and Redevelopment Control Code 1971. pp. 1 - 2.

12. Daly, M. T. Sydney Boom Sydney Bust. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1982, pp. 1 - 4, 24 - 25.

13. Woollahra Municipal Council Minutes, 25 February 1988.

14. Ibid., attachments, 12 September 1988.

15. Municipal Engineer's Report to the Finance and Works Committee, 1 August 1988.

16. It has since moved to the Cosmopolitan Centre.

17. Observations; Council minutes 8 January 1988.

18. Cafe, Dennis, personal communication, 9 March 1989; Paul Carr and Alderman Beatrice Gray, personal communication, 13 March 1989. Details checked against Council Minutes, 1 August 1988.

19. Council minutes, Ibid.; Project Entente materials.

20. Municipal Engineer's Report, op. cit.

21. Council minutes, 8 August 1988.

22. Double Bay Redevelopment Scheme promotional materials; Wentworth Courier, 18 May 1988, pp. 1, 44.

23. Council minutes, 19 and 26 September 1988.

24. Ibid., 31 October 1988; Wentworth Courier, 19 October 1988, p. 41.

25. Council minutes, 17 October 1988; Wentworth Courier, 19 October 1988, p. 41.

26. Wentworth Courier, 2 November 1988, p. 37.

27. Ibid., 9 November 1988, pp. 3, 6.

28. Council minutes, 14 November 1988; Wentworth Courier, 16 November 1988, p. 3.

29. Observations; Council minutes, 28 November 1988; The Eastern Herald, 1 December 1988, p. 28.

30. Observations; Council minutes, 28 November 1988; Wentworth Courier, 30 November 1988, p. 5, 21 December 1988, p. 32.

31. Financial Review, Tuesday, 31 January 1989, p. 44.

32. Wenthworth Courier, 21 December 1988, p. 1.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

> 'Society' ... is never only the 'dead husk' which limits social and individual fulfillment. It is always also a constitutive process with very powerful pressures which are both expressed in political, economic, and cultural formations and, to take the full weight of 'constitutive', are internalized and become 'individual wills'. (1)

> ...Perhaps the essential role of the ego is to mask from consciousness its very spontaneity ... [as] ... spontaneity renders impossible any distinction between action and passion, or any conception of an autonomy of the will. ... [On the level of consciousness], there is no distinction between the possible and the real, since the appearance is the absolute. ... And the relation of interdependence established by this absolute consciousness between the 'me' and the World is sufficient for the 'me' to appear as 'endangered' before the World, for the 'me'(indirectly and through the intermediary of states) to draw the whole of its content from the World. (2)

> ... We must conceive both the future and the past as 'temporal horizons' of the present. The present thus receives a special status by virtue of its function. It interrelates time and reality and represents a set of constraints on the temporal integration of the future and the past. ... We can define an open future as a present future that leaves room for several mutually incompatible future presents. (3)

In the preceding chapters, we viewed Double Bay both as a sample and as an object. As an object, we looked at the enduring structures, institutions and relationships within the village through a succession of people who lived and worked in Double Bay. In the early days of settlement, the cohesiveness of the community

arose from the villagers' homogeneity in terms of class, social status and ethnicity. Unlike the rest of Sydney, events in Double Bay proceeded slowly. The present stretched longer, enabling residents to incorporate both memory and desire into their future. The social constitution of reality evolved from the interaction between a homogeneous community with a self-confident ruling class residing on the hills above the village. Individual members of subordinate classes neither felt inferior to nor resented the gentry. While the respectable working class were economically bound to serving the gentry, they possessed an awareness of upward mobility as a future reality. Moreover, the monetary basis of Double Bay's economy was established early. In an epoch where Aborigines were considered sub-human and in a colony where the scarcity of silver currency was a recurring problem, Gurrah succeeded in establishing himself as a commercial equal to Mrs. Busby. A commercial transaction was enacted wherein the sum of seven shillings was exchanged for the rights to his land rather than rum or food as was the practice of the time.

During the First World War, the sons of the middle and upper classes who were steeped in the traditions and ideology of the motherland gallantly gave up their lives on the beaches of Gallipoli. The new

immigrants drifted down from Sydney, settled in Double Bay and provided the necessary manpower in the village. The villagers welcomed the new immigrants because their skills were needed in the community. In 1942, Double Bay's bucolic existence was threatened with the proposed construction of a sewerage disintegration works on the southern side of New South Head Road. Both the Woollahra Municipal Council and the owners of the properties around the marsh rallied together to save the community. Rather than accept the decision of higher authorities, the coordinated effort of both local government and the villagers enabled them to negotiate the transfer of rights to the marsh from state to municipal government. Through their own labour, the villagers created the first of the bowling greens in Double Bay. The cooperative effort between the local government and the residents not only preserved but enhanced the existing beauty of the area. This ability to work together has persisted in the locality. Individual wills acting collectively continuously resist the encroachment of the larger society.

The Second World War saw the first non-Anglo Saxon migration to Double Bay. The penetration of American defenses by the Japanese in Sydney Harbour caused economically endowed residents to relocate to safer areas

which temporarily lowered real estate prices in Double Bay. Those who remained in the village were either committed to the community or economically unable to relocate. Central and Western Europeans were the first non-Anglo Saxon migrant groups to receive assisted passage to Australia and were not saddled by debts upon arrival. Their harrowing wartime existence gave them the impetus to mobilize their resources into building a new life for themselves in the new land. As a group of urbanised people, they brought to Sydney their own version of European society and transformed Double Bay into a Continental village. Memories of their wartime past were buried and telescoped into a more peaceful distant past. The acquisition of money brought respite from suffering and eventually bought a certain level of social acceptance from the villagers.

The multi-cultural character of Double Bay became the 'lived' experience of the villagers. Protestants, Catholics and Jews lived separate but intersecting lives. Traditions were kept alive within the family and kinship groups which extended into sectarian schools for the three major religions. Nevertheless, the dominant culture remained Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. In this cultural milieu, children grew up with an awareness of their distinctness without apologizing for their differences.

Cultural traits were not adopted wholesale but selected by individual wills. A generation composed of numerous permutations of religious and ethnic groups increased the social differentiation of the community yet brought separate circles together in varying degrees of overlap. Both the villagers' and Double Bay's upward mobility were synchronized in time. In most cases, the residents defined the future direction of Double Bay.

The upwardly mobile orientation of the residents manifested itself in their consistent effort to enhance the image and prosperity of the community. In the early sixties, the villagers once again defined the future character of Double Bay. A concerted effort to attract businesses to Double Bay resulted in a spate of building construction. Nevertheless, symbols of the past were retained through the preservation of the older buildings' original facade. The promotion was a success and exclusive shops abandoned the city and established themselves in Double Bay. The multi-cultural village acquired a cosmopolitan identity. Once more, a generation of ethnically differentiated children grew up in an atmosphere of relative harmony.

Prosperous immigrants from areas of first settlement moved into the village and established themselves in the community. They were joined by

newly-arrived immigrants with capital who were attracted to the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the village as well as its proximity to the city. Between 1985 and 1988, a renewed effort at redefinition and enhancement of Double Bay culminated in the Double Bay redevelopment scheme which further projects the cosmopolitan, exclusive and international image of Double Bay. The nineteen nineties will see the suburb develop into an exclusive international enclave. Nevertheless, the marine village atmosphere will be preserved together with the facade of selected structures from the past.

This time the villagers' involvement in the transformation of their village consists of acting in the capacity of financiers, managers, administrators, real estate owners, developers and agents. The villagers continuously resist the encroaching values of the larger society yet find themselves drawn deeper and deeper into the money economy. Nevertheless, the ability of the community's members to make functional and personal distinctions provides the basis for trust and security. This allows individual members to postpone their demands in the interest of the entire community thereby retaining community decisions within its boundaries.

The capability of its members to see Double Bay as part of the larger society enable them to integrate past

and future within the hierarchical power structure of the present. The knowledge of this structure and the community's position within this structure empower its leaders to obtain their goals by limiting demands within the boundaries of present possibilities. Money not only serves as the unifying element in the village but also connects Double Bay to the larger society.

While members of non Anglo-Saxon Protestant groups do not find themselves at the apex of the status hierarchy, they are privileged in comparison to other members of their own ethnic and religious groups. This realization enables them to accept the limits to their social acceptance inasmuch as they have the security of belonging to their own circle of acquaintances. They do not desire equality because equality within the larger society is a downward rather than an upward move.

In Double Bay, determination or the setting of limits is a conscious interaction between individuals, groups and the larger society. The 'lived hegemony' in the village is continuously negotiated rather than resisted. Tradition serves as a unifying ideology which is continuously amended to incorporate elements of the present in the creation of future traditions. Money provides the spontaneity which makes the present negotiable and equalizes accidents of birth, intellect or colour.

The boundaries of a modern community evolve out of common symbols which unite its members within a differentiated system of values. These values are ranked by the community and the knowledge of these rankings defines a person's membership in the community. Double Bay has money --- as an object and medium of exchange --- at the apex of the hierarchy of values. Class, religion, ethnicity and education are aggregated and/or integrated according to different combinations within various sub-groups of the population. Whatever differences exist between separate, tangential and intersecting circles are united by the common bond that money provides. Simmel's observation that money facilitates communication and exchange is exemplified in the way money negotiates the mutual interpenetration of cultures which makes Double Bay the cosmopolitan place it is today.

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